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What Barry Goldwater Overcame in Calif.

Sen. Barry Goldwater's sensational down-to-the-wire victory over New York Gov. Nelson Rockefeller in California is considered a feat of no mean proportions by political professionals here.

Arrayed against the senator were the powerful Eastern Establishment (including Ike, no matter what he says now), the press, the Communists, U Thant, Ralph Bunche, Jimmy Hoffa, and the polls.

The Republican governor, furthermore, huddled together with well-known Democrats and labor union officials to get aid. California Democratic Party Vice Chairman Roger Kent actively supported Rockefeller. Rocky political friend—and Johnson Democrat—Bryan Deavers, president of the State Building and Construction State Council, sent a plea to all California labor papers urging union labor to vote against Goldwater.

There was, also, Rockefeller's attempt to get Negro civic leaders to change their party registration. In the city of San Diego, over 100 members of the Chollas Democratic Club resigned their Democratic party affiliations so they could cross-over into the GOP primary and vote for Rockefeller.

In one predominantly Negro district in Los Angeles, 2,800 Negroes switched their Democratic party affiliation.

There was the psychological boost of Rocky's win in Oregon to contend with and the massive distortions in the press and in Rockefeller propaganda regarding Goldwater's positions.

The most common examples of Rockefeller's distortions: Goldwater wanted to "abolish" Social Security; he advocated use of low-yield atomic weapons in Viet Nam; and he wanted to get out of the United Nations. Then, too, there was the dramatic stab at Goldwater by the powerful Los Angeles *Times*, the only metropolitan daily morning newspaper to blanket an area containing 40 per cent of the Republican vote.

Yet the chief Goldwater obstacle was none of these, but Rockefeller money which flowed in flood-tide waves up and down the long coast of California.

From the very beginning, the governor hired his precinct workers, many of them Democrats, at $1.60 per hour and paid $1 for every signature he could get attached to his qualifying petition. With his wallet wide open, he waged a saturation radio, TV, pamphlet and telephone campaign. He had "boiler rooms" set up in old warehouses and other locations in which hired telephoners called all Republicans with a "vote for Rocky" message.

As of this writing, estimates are that the Rockefeller organization spent from $6 million to $10 million, 5 to 10 times the amount spent by Goldwater.

What, then, was the Goldwater strategy? Lacking the bottomless Rockefeller checkbook and having decided to rely upon California contributions, the leadership held back on heavy spending until the fortnight before election, with the campaign peaking in the last five days.

The senator, his wife and children greet crowd at Ambassador Hotel.

During this period, Goldwater began to appear on radio and television programs in all parts of the state. Large ads were published in several newspapers featuring past Rockefeller statements praising Goldwater as a loyal Republican. Goldwater, himself, began to pick up some steam in the wind-up.

By the Saturday night before the primary, the Goldwater team was breathing easier. On election day, enthusiastic and unpaid precinct workers—10,000 in Los Angeles County alone—began to march the streets to get out the vote. These workers, enlisted by the state organization headed by former Sen. William F. Knowland, had been in operation since January with a massive precinct campaign.

These were the volunteers to whom Goldwater had made his most vigorous speeches, and they delivered for him, carrying strategic L. A. County by 158,000 votes.

The next day Goldwater had proved he was in the mainstream of Republican sentiment.

The Rockefeller defeat, it is claimed, puts Goldwater far out in front in delegate strength and he is now thought an almost sure bet to take the nomination on the first or second ballot.

Sen. Thruston Morton (R.-Ky.), chairman of the GOP convention, has tagged Barry as the man to beat. Sen. Karl Mundt (R-S.D.) says the Arizonan has it "all sewed up." Talk in Washington, in fact, is no longer concentrated on "Will Barry make it?" but rather, "Will Scranton be his running mate?"

Another question that looms large in the minds of the pros is: What will the Rocky-Kuchel-Javits axis do now? Rocky has said he will take the battle to the convention floor and Javits and Kuchel indicate they will fight alongside the governor. If they continue their divisive campaign within the party, the Republicans may very well lose New York, California and other big states in the November 4 election.

More Election News—Page 4

Lady Bird's $15 Million Fortune

See pages 8 and 9.

How did the Johnsons get to be the richest couple ever to live in the White House?

The phenomenal money-making began when Lady Bird made a $17,500 investment in 1943 in a money-losing radio station. Today some experts appraise Lady Bird's broadcasting properties at up toward $15 million. All this happened while she lived in Washington as the active partner-type wife of an ambitious congressman from Texas.

The significant fact is that Lady Bird's net worth has climbed by many millions while hundreds of other talented broadcasting owners, devoting all their time and attention to their business, have made minor fractions of that amount.

The point which must not be missed is that political power—government favor—built the Lady Bird fortune. The question for you to ponder is: With government spending a hundred billion a year, are the Horatio Algers of the future to be the wheelers and the dealers, who know how to play ball with those in control of the government?

Should your son be taught that if he aspires to business success, he should have the sense to support Big Spend candidates for Congress? These are the representatives and senators whom the spending officials and the regulatory agencies want to please when they get a request from a congressman intervening in behalf of a business firm in his district.

Does a community or a state grow fastest by sending to Congress the men who want to build government power as a means of doing more for their constituents—putting more of them under obligation to them politically?

These are the questions that will come to your mind after you have read pages 8 and 9 on how the Johnsons' wealth was created.

Ask your sons and daughters in high school and college to read it. Get the article—and the one yet to follow—into the hands of your editor, mayor, chamber of commerce president and other opinion leaders in your locality. Social science teachers especially should study this 1964-type Horatio Alger story.

Persuade study clubs and civic clubs to discuss and debate topics of this nature.

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'We Didn't Ever Feel Like We Were in Poverty'

Deception in the President's 'War'

President Johnson's widely publicized second tour of the Appalachia region in early May, it now turns out, was one of his most successful political gimmicks and deceptions since he took office over six months ago.

During that excursion LBJ stopped with the family of William David Marlow. The next day the national press carried pictures of Johnson on the front steps of the Marlow house, along with stories of how destitute and poverty-stricken the family was.

The truth did not come out until two weeks later. It was then revealed that President Johnson had contacted North Carolina's Democratic governor, Terry Sanford, and given him specific instructions as to the type of family he wanted "set up" for him to visit. Sanford then sent out an officer in the state Extension Service, George Smith, to find the "perfect" poverty family.

It did not seem to occur to Gov. Sanford that members of the Extension Service are supposedly non-partisan personnel of the Department of Agriculture who are paid by the U.S. taxpayers to look after farm problems, not to campaign for a President.

When Smith arrived at Rocky Mount, according to Mrs. Marlow, "he spent several days . . . with the Secret Service men and all, and he told me to be sure to have a washing on the line when the President came and also to be sure the children were barefooted when the President arrived . . . The governor's man [Smith] tried to make us look poorer than we are."

LBJ and Lynda Bird sit on steps of David Marlow's home near Rocky Mount, N. C., and chat with the family. With the President are Franklin D. Roosevelt Jr. (left), Orville Freeman (center, with glasses) and North Carolina Gov. Terry Sanford (seated at right of LBJ).

When Smith was contacted by the Charlotte *Observer* he tried to explain away his action by saying that LBJ only wanted the family to look "homey" and that "the President wanted it to appear that he was just a neighbor dropping in for a visit. He wanted the Marlows to act natural."

Another deception concerning Johnson's visit with the Marlows involved their income for the year. When he was chatting with Mr. Marlow, LBJ asked him how much he expected to make for the year, and, before Marlow could reply, Johnson suggested the figure $1,500—half the $3,000 figure which government poverty experts claim marks the borderline of poverty.

Marlow replied that he thought $1,500 was about right. The press grabbed up the heart-rending story of this poor family of nine living on this meager sum for a whole year and LBJ referred to their plight in several subsequent speeches.

Bur Marlow says that he was talking about profits, not total income; in fact, he now says, he expects that his earnings for the year from his 20 acres of tobacco and cotton will be over $4,000, and that after all the living expenses have been paid, he will *clear* $1,500—but few newspapers have carried this story.

The nationwide publicity and the President's attention have not impressed the Marlow family or their neighbors. Says Mrs. Marlow: "We thought we were on our feet for the first time in four years. And along came the word that we're the poorest folks in the country. We didn't ever feel like we were in poverty."

As for the other residents of Rocky Mount, the Charlotte *Observer* reports that "there's a growing feeling in this community . . . that they are not the most poverty-stricken people around and maybe should not have been picked for the visit by the President."

Some word of this latest example of LBJ's playing politics with his "war on poverty" has gotten out of North Carolina and received editorial comment. The Washington *Evening Star* echoed the sentiments of many when it asked, "Could there possibly be something just a little bit phony about this war?"

U.S. Employment Service

Free?--To Whom?

From the Anaheim (Calif.) *Bulletin*

Southern Californians aren't the only ones who become concerned over the continual power grabs of the federal government. Robert O. Snelling, president of the Pennsylvania Association of Personnel Services, is taking the government's employment agencies to task.

States Mr. Snelling:

"At this very moment the U.S. government, with a velvet glove over a mailed fist, is advising all defense contractors and industries that they should utilize only the U.S. Employment Service and its affiliated state offices to secure their help . . . with the strong implication being that, if they don't, the contracts will go elsewhere." . . .

"It is but a short step to the situation that existed in Argentina where no employer could advertise a job without consulting the government first, and no individual could change jobs without applying to the government first."

Members of the government bureaucratic freedom monopoly claim that their reason for the development of government hiring facilities is based upon the belief that no person should have to "pay" for finding employment. Therefore the government should become the sole instrument in the field. This is more of the old line of everything the government does for the people is "free." The entire government service is tax-supported and thus the people are still paying for the service.

Private employment services are not "forced" upon anyone. They are available to those who desire them by free choice. Further, the many agencies are competitive, pay taxes, and are an integral part of the free enterprise system. Anyone can go out and seek a job without going through an agency including that of the government.

Business and industry are now free to seek their own employes through the medium of advertising or personal contact. An individual who takes advantage of a private agency does so of his own free will and knowingly obligates himself to the charges to be paid the same as anyone seeks the aid and council of a lawyer, a realtor, a doctor or any professional service.

If government continues its plan of "free" services, it will soon interpret that "all" services now rendered by private individuals or firms should become the prerogative of government.

Present government employment agencies are completely ineffective in the field of combating unemployment. In the city of New York it is estimated that there are 50,000 jobs available, Philadelphia claims they have 4,000 positions open. The government claims that the coal mining districts of upstate Pennsylvania are destitute, yet the mines find it impossible to fill 500 jobs.

The entire government program and its intent is contained in a statement made by the director of the Colorado State Employment Service (federal government), Mr. Bernard Teats, who claims that his office now handles 40 per cent of all placements in the state and if "given" sufficient federal funds he would handle 90 per cent in a five-year period. He further stated that his goal is complete elimination of private employment agencies.

Federal employment offices are a continuation of the desire of government to control individual freedoms and to eliminate private industry.

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Everything in the home nowadays is controlled by a switch—except the children.

BETTER LUCK NEXT TIME—The State Department has denied any complicity in the attack by anti-Castro Cubans on a sugar mill in the eastern part of the Communist island. More's the pity.—From the Indianapolis *Star*

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"If we shrink from the hard contests . . . then the bolder and stronger peoples will pass us by."—Theodore Roosevelt

TEST YOUR KNOWLEDGE OF U.S. HISTORY

Each week **Human Events** will present in this space three or four questions testing your knowledge of U. S. history. The answers will be found on page 14.

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1. Where was the "Battle Above the Clouds" fought in the Civil War?
a. At Pittsburgh Landing
b. At Chattanooga
c. At Richmond
d. At Vicksburg

2. Who called Henry Clay "A being so brilliant, yet so corrupt, which like a rotten mackerel by moonlight, shines and stinks"?
a. Sam Houston
b. John Randolph
c. Martin Van Buren
d. John C. Calhoun

3. Who was the first President to give the Vice President a seat at the Cabinet table?
a. Harding
b. Lincoln
c. Coolidge
d. Franklin D. Roosevelt

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So. Viet Nam Atrocities Suppressed; Leading Campaign Role for Lady Bird

From the Allen-Scott Report

U. S. authorities are suppressing shocking evidence of atrocities committed against U. S. military personnel and intelligence operators captured by Communist Viet Cong guerrillas in South Viet Nam.

Secret casualty reports of the Defense Department and the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) show that U. S. servicemen and covert agents were found dead after having been tortured and shot from behind.

Reliable military sources, with access to individual personnel files of both agencies, say a number of the atrocities are as shocking as those committeed by the Chinese and North Korean Communists during the Korean war.

According to these inside Pentagon sources, no detailed report or overall accounting of these atrocities has ever been compiled for presentation to President Johnson or the National Security Council, highest U. S. policy-making body.

These military experts stress that the Defense Department's failure to make a report is due to Secretary McNamara and his chief civilian aides' flat refusal to recognize these brutal

Defense Secretary Robert McNamara and his aides, despite overwhelming evidence, refuse to recognize the brutal slayings by guerrillas as atrocities.

slayings as atrocities, although the evidence is overwhelming that the servicemen were killed after being taken prisoner.

They point out that McNamara and his aides have cold-bloodedly held in private talks that the atrocities be listed as "regular casualties," contending that the killings were committed in the heat of battle.

CIA Director John McCone is supporting the policy of not making the atrocities a public moral issue, as it has been a long-standing policy of the CIA never to reveal details of how or when their agents die, despite the Communist brutality in South Viet Nam.

Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge's mysterious silence on the atrocities is the big puzzler among U. S. military officers who briefed the former ambassador to the United Nations.

In November 1953, Lodge won worldwide acclaim by condemning the North Koreans and Chinese Communists for their atrocities in Korea.

Military friends of Lodge who worked closely with the ambassador at the United Nations believe the former GOP vice-presidential candidate is holding his fire until he returns to Washington next month for a round of official and private consultations.

* * *

A spectacular publicity splash is slated by the Democratic $1,000-a-member "President's Club."

It will take the form of a 24-page tabloid-sized color supplement that will be part of the Sunday, June 14, editions of 14 big-city newspapers in various parts of the country.

This unique political ad, titled "Mr. President: The Office and the Man," is being paid for by the "President's Club." Democratic chiefs are uncommunicative about the cost, but newspaper sources estimate it at "several hundred thousand dollars."

The supplement was prepared by a Washington advertising firm, and personally approved by President Johnson.

At the recent big fund-raising combination dinner and gala in Washington, more than 800 $1,000-a-plate tickets were sold for the "President's Club" dinner—at which the President and Mrs. Johnson were the stellar guests. For a similar affair in New York recently, more than 1,000 "President's Club" tickets at $1,000 a plate were sold.

Mrs. Johnson's enthusiastic participation in these affairs is a significant portent of things to come.

The First Lady will play a leading role in the fall election, and is busily preparing for that. She is being briefed by selected authorities and experts on a wide range of domestic and foreign subjects.

On international matters, Mrs. Johnson already has had briefings by McGeorge Bundy, White House special assistant in this field. He is also arranging for other specialists in foreign affairs and intelligence to meet with her.

Mrs. Johnson is evincing particular interest in the Sino-Russian feud and its effect on critical areas throughout the world.

* * *

Russia is again sneaking ballistic missiles into Cuba capable of destroying Southern U. S. cities.

This grim disclosure, circulating at the highest level in the State Department, is based on "hard information" given U. S. authorities by highly reliable sources inside Cuba.

These sources warn that a number of T-1 and T-10 ground-to-ground IRBMs unexpectedly appeared on the island following the arrival of three Soviet bloc ships in May. The missiles, capable of carrying nuclear warheads, are estimated to have ranges from 400 to 600 miles—about half the range of the rockets Khrushchev sent to Cuba in 1962.

This ominous threat was first discovered by Cuban refugees last month and confirmed in the past week by sources U. S. intelligence authorities regard as their best.

The new IRBMs are hidden in carefully camouflaged storage areas that cannot be spotted from the air. All efforts by the CIA to locate and photograph the missiles, with high-flying U-2 planes, have failed.

With no "hard" intelligence available on Premier Khrushchev's intentions, U. S. military experts have very little to go on in trying to determine how the missiles will be used.

One group of these experts stresses that the shorter-ranged IRBMs could be used by Castro as a threat to retaliate against southern U. S. cities if President Johnson doesn't step in and stop the anti-Castro raids.

Another group holds that Castro might threaten to destroy the Latin American and Caribbean bases of these raiders unless they are dismantled.

The mysterious reappearance of the missiles is only one of the startling new developments inside Cuba. The other is an unpublicized order by Castro reintroducing the teaching of English in all elementary and high schools.

While the dropping of English in favor of Russian was done with much fanfare in 1961 after Castro announced he was a dedicated Communist, the latest switch was ordered without public announcement.

The change reportedly was masterminded by Castro's Soviet advisers as part of their program to make Cuba the main base of Communist subversion and infiltration of the United States.

Unbelievable as it may sound, one high Cuban official told a Japanese businessman in Havana recently that Cuba is training its people to speak English because "the take-over of the U. S. is only a matter of years away."

(Distributed 1964 by the Hall Syndicate, Inc.)

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THREE JONAHS

FRANKLIN AND THE CONSTITUTION—"To the foresight of our ancestors we owe much of our success and greatness. They set up a form of government based on the experiences and failures of Old World governments. First and most important, they recognized God as a Supreme Being and built their government on that premise. Secondly, they recognized the individual and not the government as the important element. Then they drew up a Constitution and a Bill of Rights to guide them in future deliberations. After the Constitution was completed and being studied, one of the colonists said, 'Mr. Franklin, what have you here?' His reply was 'A Republic, if you have sense enough to keep it.'"—By Warren W. Fuqua, *Former Legislative Representative and Head of Public Affairs for the Missouri Farm Bureau Federation*

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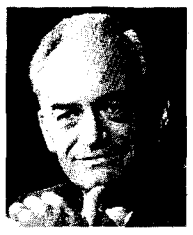
CAPITOL CAMERA

• Sen. Barry Goldwater's upset victory in the California primary brought his committed delegate strength to 458. In addition, another 96 delegates already chosen are leaning toward the Arizona Senator. The total of these two figures —544—leaves Goldwater only 111 votes short of the 655 needed for the nomination, but, between now and the July Republican convention, there will be numerous state conventions held to select 200-odd delegates. Many of these, such as those from Alabama, Washington and Texas, are expected to add heavily to the Goldwater total. It is also expected that many of those delegates already selected, and not committed or leaning to Goldwater, will now jump aboard the Arizonan's bandwagon.


GOLDWATER

• *The powerful Los Angeles* Times, *which blankets Southern California, came out for Gov. Nelson Rockefeller in the Golden State primary. But Harrison Chandler, uncle of* Times *publisher Otis, chipped in $2,000 to the Goldwater campaign. Otis is reported to have another uncle and two aunts also in the Goldwater camp.*

• Sen. Kenneth Keating (R.-N.Y.) has taken the State Department to task for ramming through the International Monetary Fund a massive $40-million loan to Egypt and thus seemingly rewarding Nasser's aggressive policies and flirtation with the Soviet Union. The State Department pushed the loan through the IMF (where the United States controls 40 per cent of the vote) against the advice of the U.S. Treasury Department and our major European allies who said Nasser hadn't even lived up to the fund's rules for adopting monetary and fiscal reform.

KEATING

• *Professor David C. Davies of Duke University reports the gross national product has increased approximately 35 times since 1900. During the same period federal expenditures have jumped by 234 times. Rate of government employment during the first three Kennedy-Johnson years has been five times as rapid as that for the private enterprise labor force.*

• Labor "strategists" have failed miserably in key primaries. In California, an all-out Teamster drive failed to sink Goldwater, and observers feel the Hoffa opposition was of definite aid to the senator. In Maryland, the unions went all out to humble Alabama Gov. George Wallace, who secured top-heavy majorities in many labor precincts. Maryland COPE backed State Comptroller Louis Goldstein for the Democratic senatorial nomination. He lost in a landslide to political novice Joseph Tydings.

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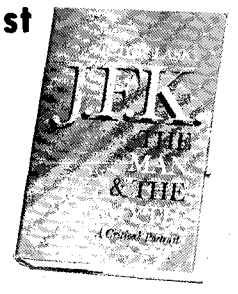

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This Week in Washington

Reaction to Barry's Victory

• Goldwater stalwart Sen. Carl T. Curtis (R.-Neb.) said, "I don't think we should let up for a minute now . . . but I'm sure he will win the nomination on an early ballot."

• GOP National Committee Chairman William E. Miller told newsmen that Goldwater was "very close" to nomination, while Kentucky's Thruston Morton estimated a first-ballot strength of 580 votes for Goldwater.

• District of Columbia GOP Chairman Carl Shipley, often described as a "moderate," said that the California vote smashed the illusion that Goldwater was a "great urban liability. If he can carry Los Angeles, he can carry Philadelphia, Pittsburgh and New York."

• Rep. Durward Hall (R.-Mo.) and Sen. William Proxmire (D.-Wis.) attacked the liberal professional poll-takers. Hall accused them of spreading "phony political propaganda" but predicted they would continue with what he called their "onerous duties." Proxmire was more explicit, saying that pollsters were jeopardizing Democratic chances for victory in the fall. He said, "The Republicans will win their greatest victory in November because the pollsters predict just the opposite. . . There is at least a good chance people will resent polls telling them how they will vote."

• Liberal columnist Doris Fleeson, writing in the Washington *Evening Star*, had this to say about the California victory: "Senator Goldwater won the big one. He got the votes and all the psychological advantages. He even has the fun of giving the poll-takers and powerful segments of the press a jolt. Probably no one has had a bigger last laugh since Harry Truman in 1948."

• Rep. Melvin Laird (R.-Wis.), chairman of the GOP platform committee, remarked, "There is no doubt that Sen. Goldwater's victory in California will increase his influence in the development of the platform." Texas Sen. John G. Tower, one of Goldwater's earliest backers, said the delegate count showed that Goldwater "reflects the consensus of Republican opinion and I would think his views would be in agreement with those of the platform committee members on critical matters."

• The Liberal Establishment, fearing Goldwater's nomination is almost certain, has reached the panic stage. Both the New York *Times* and the Washington *Post* have begun to step up their campaign against the Arizonan, imploring Republicans to reject Goldwater as the nominee. Pundit Walter Lippmann, stepping into his Drew Pearson role, describes Goldwater as using a "steamroller" on fellow Republicans. In customary Lippmann style, he offered no proof of this.

• Moscow Radio moaned that the Goldwater victory proves that "U. S. rightists are trying to mount an open offensive." Finnish Socialists called Goldwater a "dangerous man."

The Press in California

Goldwater's treatment by the press, both nationwide and in California, still rankles his followers and the Goldwater organization in particular. Aside from the distortions, the senator was faced with opposition from two of the most powerful newspapers in the state: the Los Angeles *Times*, which saturates the southern half of the state, and the San Francisco *Chronicle*, which covers the northern part.

Undoubtedly one of the biggest blows to Goldwater's California campaign was dealt by the once stoutly conservative *Times*. The *Times* has been a long-time power in Republican politics in the Golden State and has been decisive in shaping its affairs.

With the folding of the Hearst *Examiner* two years ago and the expiration of the New York *Times*' Western edition, it has become the only metropolitan morning daily to cover all of the Los Angeles County area, which comprises 40 per cent of the GOP vote. Hence, its endorsement of Rockefeller was bound to sway votes.

While "What happened to the *Times*?" has been the plaintive cry of puzzled Easterners, to Californians it's an old story.

Under the guidance of publisher Norman Chandler, the *Times* hewed fairly regular to conservative policies. It supported William F. Knowland (now Goldwater's campaign manager) for senator and governor, vigorously endorsed right-to-work.

Houston I. Flournoy, a Rockefeller delegate candidate, once told an employe of *Human Events* he disliked both the policies of Goldwater and the *Times* equally.

A gradual shift of policies became noticeable when the publishing chores devolved upon Chandler's son, Otis, a former champion shotputter interested in giving the *Times* a more "moderate" image.

The young son has staffed the reportorial end with ultra-liberals, even to the point of placing an anti-right-to-work reporter in charge of labor news. (Right-to-work used to be a Times' **key issue.)**

Otis transferred conservative Robert Hartmann, former head of the Washington Bureau, to an overseas post (he's now in Rome), replacing him with the more liberal Robert Donovan. He has silenced some of the more conservative editorial writers and has hired a Democrat, Paul Conrad, to do the editorial page cartoon. Furthermore, Chandler has established a joint new-service with the ultra-liberal Washington *Post*.

Nixon Vows Backing

Another feather in the Goldwater cap: Former Vice President Richard M. Nixon told an ABC television interviewer last week that he would back Sen. Barry Goldwater "absolutely" if the Arizona conservative gets the presidential nod at San Francisco. Nixon also said he would prefer Pennsylvania's Gov. William W. Scranton as the vice presidential candidate in that case.

Although Nixon believed that Goldwater does not have the nomination completely "wrapped up" he did say this: "Sen. Goldwater is certainly well ahead of all other candidates and potential candidates. No one at the present time is in a position to challenge Sen. Goldwater."

Commenting on the possibility of a stop-Goldwater movement, the former Californian said, "Such a coalition would so badly split the party that whoever got the nomination would find it wasn't worth anything at all. I think it would be a mistake if a group of people got together in a smoke-filled room to sit down and say 'Now we're going to stop Goldwater.'"

He added, "I am confident Goldwater will do everything possible to unite the party, once he gets the nomination."

About his own presidential chances, Nixon said the possibility was so remote "It isn't worth discussing."

Court Hits Loyalty Oaths

Supreme Court Justice Tom Clark has issued a withering blast at six fellow justices for striking down two Washington State laws requiring state employes to take loyalty oaths. The majority opinion, handed down last week, was written by Kennedy-appointee, Justice Byron White, thought by some to be a "moderate."

Clark winced at White's reasoning that both laws were "unduly vague, uncertain and broad" and he particularly scored the court for its ruling on the 1955 act.

"It is strange," said Clark, "that the court should find the language of this statute so profoundly vague when in 1951 it had no such trouble with the identical language presented by another oath in *Gerende v. Board of Supervisors of Elections*, 341 U. S. 56. There the constitutionality of Maryland's Ober Law, written in language identical to Washington's 1955 act, was affirmed by a unanimous court against the same attack of vague-

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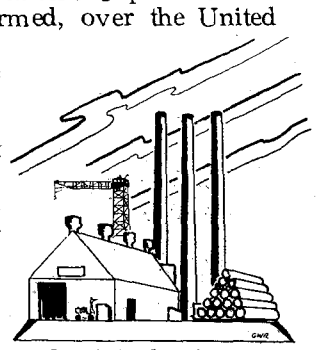
ness. It is unfortunate that *Gerende* is overruled so quickly."

Other state laws, said Clark, "have been copied from the Maryland Act—just as Washington's 1955 act was—primarily because of our approval of it, and now this court would declare them void. Such action cannot command the dignity and respect due the judicial process."

Rumanian Trade

Anti-Communists in the Nation's Capital remain highly agitated, indeed, alarmed, over the United States-Rumanian accord on liberalizing trade between the two countries. The agreement, it is charged, has been concluded with one of the most repressive Communist regimes in Eastern Europe and a member of the Soviet-controlled Warsaw military pact.



Sen. Claiborne Pell (D.-R.I.), a former foreign service officer, charges thousands of political prisoners still languish in Rumanian jails. This is confirmed by the Assembly of Captive European Nations in New York City which claims there are more than 20,000 people in Rumanian slave-labor camps and about 10,000 in the prisons.

Thus, this accord deals a bitter blow to those policy-makers who feel trade concessions should be given the Reds only if they meet certain conditions; namely, if they restore freedoms to the people or make any significant break from Moscow and Chinese control. None of these conditions has been met in the present case.

In actuality, the Rumanian accord represents a significant triumph for the cabal of peaceful-coexisters who have long advocated nearly unrestricted trade with Red regimes.

The chief architect of this policy is LBJ's right-hand man on trade matters, Under Secretary of State George W. Ball. Since 1960, when Ball drafted a special trade policy for President-elect Kennedy, he has been feverishly working behind the scenes for stepped-up trade with the Communists.

The present agreement fits neatly into the Ball plan of 1960. Negotiated by W. Averell Harriman, the new agreement opens up advanced American technology to the Rumanians and is said to be a "model" for future Red trade agreements.

A joint communique issued from Washington reveals that Rumania will be allowed to purchase "most commodities" in this country (without export licenses), equipment for oil refineries, the petrochemical industry and steel mills. Even nuclear reactors will be made available. All these items, moreover, will be financed by short and long-term credits guaranteed by the taxpayer-supported U. S. Export-Import Bank.

Thus, congressional restrictions on trade with the Communists have been by-passed by the executive in one fell swoop.

Trade experts in the Nation's Capital note some irony in the whole deal, for the United States will now be assuming the role of building up Rumanian heavy industry even when Khrushchev has refused to do so. The Soviet Premier, in fact, feels it would be economically unsound.

These experts, who also feel this accord is only the beginning of things to come, say this could never have occurred if the House Select Committee on Export Control were still in existence.

This committee, bi-partisan in nature, successfully pressured the executive into holding the line on trading with the Reds through the hot glare of publicity brought about by public hearings.

In this Congress, however, the executive, with a noticeable boost from Rep. Wright Patman (D.-Tex.), has blocked re-establishment of this highly valuable committee. Americans opposed to unrestricted trading with Communist countries should write their congressmen urging that the House Select Committee on Export Control be revived.

New York Primary

California was not the only state in the country where Barry Goldwater displayed his political muscle last week. Nelson Rockefeller's own New York St. also had primaries on June 2 and the Goldwater forces fielded 22 convention delegates to run in 11 congressional districts.

Two of these delegates were elected, one in a race on Long Island, the other in the upstate Buffalo area. Also in Erie County, where Rocky has had a falling out with Republican leaders, four delegates not committed to Rockefeller scored victories.

There was another significant development which indicates that Goldwater would run well in the Empire State in a general election: In the majority of the 11 district races the Goldwater delegates received over 40 per cent of the vote.

In each of these races the candidates pledged to Goldwater were running against a candidate put up by the local Republican-Rockefeller organization, and New York State GOP voters in the past have been almost blindly loyal to the organization choices.

The Goldwater candidates also ran exceptionally well in the heavily populated suburban areas around New York City and on Long Island.

Bobby's Man Loses

The Kennedy Klan suffered a major defeat when the venerable Charles Buckley, powerful chairman of the House Public Works Committee, was denied renomination in the New York Democratic primary.

With the all-out support of the Kennedy family, and with an endorsement from Lyndon Johnson, Buckley was expected to repel easily the challenge of an Ivy League political neophyte, Jonathan B. Bingham.

Buckley is an old friend of Joseph Kennedy. He was the first New York Democrat to back John Kennedy's Presidential bid and he helped deliver the Empire State delegation to JFK at the Los Angeles Convention.

Buckley was the guest of honor in the Presidential Box at the Inaugural Ball in 1961 and at the Army-Navy game in 1962. He was hosted frequently at the White House.

Attorney General Robert Kennedy went out of his way last month to urge Buckley's renomination for Congress. Buckley, in turn, demanded that Bobby receive the Democratic senatorial nomination and the right to take on Republican Kenneth Keating. With the defeat of Buckley and his chief lieutenant, Rep. James Healey, voters dealt the Kennedys a severe rebuff.

Buckley, a 30-year-House veteran, remains chairman of the Bronx Democratic Committee. But the day has passed when he could singlehandedly nominate a Kennedy or anyone else.

Bobby Kennedy has been tarred, perhaps unfairly, as the candidate of the discredited bosses. It is a stigma that could well deny him the senatorial nomination—if he still wants it.

LBJ's Costly Trips

Lyndon Johnson is a travelling man—and the taxpayer foots the bill. Consider the Chief Executive's recent trip to New York City, where he raised almost $2 million for the Democratic National Committee.

The White House and Defense Department used six helicopters, two government planes, two chartered buses and uncountable automobiles to get the LBJ party to New York for the fund-raising affair.

From New York, Johnson flew in the Presidential plane to Bergstrom Air Force Base near Austin. The President, assistants and newsmen then hopped in Air Force helicopters and smaller planes to reach the LBJ ranch near Johnson City.

White House aides work full time arranging Presidential trips. For each jaunt, the President must take along typewriters, mimeograph machines, flag stands, the Presidential Seal and silk fender flags for the auto in which he rides.

The New York *Times* reports that Johnson also hauls along, wherever he goes, the Teleprompter used when he speaks. The Teleprompter equipment is carried by Teleprompter personnel, hired by the White House.

Before Johnson goes anywhere, White House aides scout the premises for a place to set up the myriad phones used by the Presidential party. At a place frequently visited by Johnson, such as his ranch, much of the communications gear is permanently installed. White House phones are scattered all over the ranch. "Cousin Oriole," who lives down the road, has one in her parlor room.

White House spokesmen have "no comment" when asked what the President's monthly phone bill is.

NOT MERELY GOSSIP

• Pennsylvania Governor William Scranton, as well as Richard Nixon, disappointed the GOP's Eastern wing of the party last week by announcing he was "not part of any movement to stop Goldwater." Goldwater, he commented, "more than likely" will be nominated and that he would run as his vice presidential candidate if there were a "genuine draft."

SCRANTON

• *Another dark horse has entered the vice presidential contest in the Democratic party. Some pros are saying LBJ is seriously considering picking Sen. Thomas Dodd (D.-Conn.) as his running-mate. Dodd, a tough anti-Communist and a Catholic, might help firm up Johnson's voting strength in the big cities.*

• Six-time Socialist party candidate for President, Norman Thomas, said this of President Lyndon Johnson last week in Chicago at the Socialist party's national convention: "We all have reason to be grateful for him in the way he is handling civil rights and poverty. I ought to rejoice, and I do. I rub my eyes in amazement and surprise. His war on poverty is a Socialistic approach. . ."

THOMAS

• *The Hollywood liberals who run the West Coast branch of the Writers Guild of America voted to cancel a dinner at Los Angeles' Ambassador when they heard a rumor the hotel was run by David Schine, former staff member of the McCarthy Committee. The fact is that Schine has nothing to do with the hotel, but the cancellation stands.*

• Stockholders have given a vote of confidence to management of the strike-and-violence-plagued Florida East Coast Railway. They re-elected Ed Ball as chairman of the board and chief executive officer and named as President William W. L. Thornton, the railroad's chief operating officer. Ball told stockholders that management will continue resisting union threats.

BALL

• *Prime Minister-designate of India, Lal Bahadur Shastri, has been described by the New York* Times *as a "moderate, a little left-of-center, not very Socialistic." The same day, Shastri approved of the U.S.-opposed Soviet plan to settle the Laos problem.*

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Is It So Certain President Johnson Will Win?

By RALPH DE TOLEDANO

In 1948 President Harry S. Truman was elected in large part because he snatched the farm vote from the Republicans. Since then, that farm vote has figured largely in Democratic plans for electoral victory. Can President Johnson hold on to it?

The answer will come from an accurate reading and interpretation of agricultural statistics. The farmer has a very sensitive pocketbook nerve. How, then, are the nation's farmers faring?

For the Democrats, the news would seem to be bad. Total net farm income is lower than it was in 1945. Farm income this year will be $12.3 billion. In 1945, it was $12.4 billion. The drop, then, is considerable when the value of the dollar then and now is factored in. The big inflation occurred in the early postwar years.

In percentages, this year's figures show that farm prices are down 8 per cent, whereas industrial commodities are up 1.6 per cent. The farmer, moreover, doesn't have to look back to feel the pinch of reduced income. In one year, the drop has added up to $500 million. Average net income is up, but the number of farmers has decreased. And the so-called average increase is misleading. It is accounted for by higher yields among the corporate-held factory farms. The small farmer is badly hit.

To add to these woes, the year has brought a steady decline in cattle prices, with a resultant outcry from the nation's beef producers. Prime steers are down 31.7 per cent, choice steers 29.4 per cent. And the cattle country is buzzing like a swarm of angry hornets over the increased imports of foreign beef which the Johnson Administration has steadfastly refused to curtail.

In 1948, reporters covering Mr. Truman noted that many farmers drove up to his whistle-stop speeches in Cadillacs. This, the political analysts said in admitted and rueful hindsight, should have been the tip-off. What kind of car—and what year's model—will bring the farmers out to hear 1964's presidential candidates?

If things aren't so rosy for the farmers, they should get some satisfaction from the tender care which the Administration bestows on its own. For the round of tariff negotiations at Geneva, the State Department sent some 142 persons, plus wives and children, to Switzerland. The tab will come to almost $2 million. Just to move family cars overseas, the federal government will shell out $40,500. The head of the delegation, Christian A. Herter, has rented a Cadillac for 250 days—at $40 a day, or $10,000 for the sessions. Twenty thousand dollars has been set aside for entertainment.

Usually, tariff negotiations are watched by businessmen and economists. They do not make page one copy. But with the anger stirring in the Midwest over beef imports, it can be predicted that these particular sessions will generate a considerable amount of discussion and each new development will find its niche in the daily papers.

Therefore, the magnificence of the junket will also be noted by farmers who wonder why they have less money, and to cattle growers who stubbornly believe that American beef should have some kind of protection in the American market.

No one will object to the 142 negotiators—45 of them with their wives and children and cars—if some hard bargaining results from their presence. The $2 million price tag will seem small. But if past performance is any indication, the small army will be much more intent on winning foreign friends than on influencing foreign governments. The tariff battle is somehow always lost by the United States.

If this meant that this country was pushing ahead for an era of free trade in which the market set world prices, there would be justification for our refusal to build barriers against foreign goods. But while the United States docilely lowers tariffs, European governments impose restrictions on American goods and subsidize their own so that they compete unfairly with our products.

There have been repeated instances of goods sold in this country at prices lower than those of the country of origin. This is called "dumping" and it is illegal, but the Tariff Commission and the White House usually develop a bad case of myopia when asked to take steps against this practice.

In the old days, Wall Street wanted high tariffs, the farmers wanted low tariffs. The situation has changed. The drop in farm income and the gold-plated negotiations in Geneva, therefore, assume a joint political significance.

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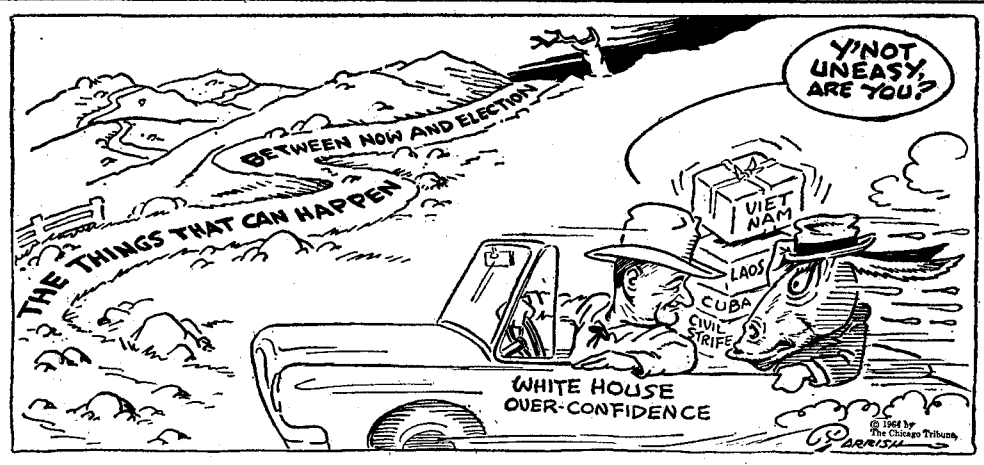
LONG, LONG TRAIL A-WINDING



Main Street vs. the 'Mainstream' on TV

By MORRIE RYSKIND

Last week, "The Defenders" was awarded two Emmy Awards by the Academy of Television Arts and Sciences. This column was written before that event took place.

A derisive reader notes that a TV offering, "Blacklist" of *The Defenders* series, which I had attacked in a column as a brazenly misleading plea for the Hollywood Commies, is one of the five finalists nominated for the Emmy award as "The Program of the Year" and somewhat joyfully likens me to the New York Mets. I insist, however, there is a difference: the Mets occasionally win one.

It is the penalty, I suppose, for being "outside the mainstream of modern American thought." Yet it happens that the column referred to brought approving editorial comment from several of the papers in which it appeared and that my own mail on it was both voluminous and highly favorable. True, the total was swollen by the fact that about 100 of the letters came from old Hollywood friends, veterans of the battle against the Red invasion of the movies; but the general response, from all over the country, was almost as unanimous.

And I know that many, whether inspired by my piece or incensed on their own account by the flagrant propaganda of the program, wrote angry letters to both the network and the sponsors, for they sent me copies of their missives. So I felt that Main Street—which is apparently not in the mainstream—was with me.

Now this vast difference between the thinking of Main Street and the mainstream may be accounted for in several ways. Even people of the same I.Q. may honestly differ about the merits of a program, as they differ about books and paintings and plays. Or it may be that the Television Academy, as a group, is far more cultured than the motley collection of Know-Nothings who string along with me, and therefore far more discerning.

But there is still a third possibility—and pray don't dismiss it as a pipe-dream conjured up by one who constantly sees Commies under the bed. It may be that a solid phalanx of left-wingers voted for it precisely because of its content—and none of that jazz about a story well-told, well-acted and well-directed, either. The message was the important thing.

Let no one construe this as my saying that the 6,000 members of the Television Academy are overwhelmingly left-oriented. But I have seen—as I saw in the Hollywood guilds—a highly disciplined minority, rarely totaling over 20 per cent of the membership, make a whale of a showing by voting solidly together on every issue that arose.

It didn't matter whether the question was an unimportant one, such as whether the board meeting was to be held on Monday or Tuesday, or an important one that concerned salaries and credits.

The rest of us disagreed as normal Americans do, but the liberal phalanx voted en masse and usually carried the day.

And the voting for the coveted Oscars—here I have the testimony of some ex-Communists, and I think they knew what was going on—followed the same pattern. The late Adolphe Menjou might give a superb performance, but any Hollywood libered would rather have cut his own throat than vote for such a right-winger.

In television, the 20 per cent have it even easier. Thus, you and I, part of the unsuspecting 80 per cent—are asked to name the five best programs we saw during the year. In the first place, no man alive could possibly have seen them all; and since our nights for bowling, bridge, eating out and visiting friends vary so much, we may never have seen the same programs. Even if our nights for television viewing coincide, your favorite program may be on ABC, so you never see what CBS and NBC are offering at that time.

Our lists, then, may differ entirely. But the disciplined hard core always votes en masse—so it's dollars to doughnuts they must come up with a few winners.

But, you say, perhaps the Commies did work that way. Would a real liberal adopt those tactics? Incredible!

But the Establishment has adopted many of the Communist tactics, and it works and votes together just as solidly, even though there are no secret meetings where directives are laid down. If you doubt me, perhaps you will not doubt one of the ablest reporters of the American scene, Allen Drury. The quotation is from his highly perceptive novel *Advise and Consent*, and this is how he sees the Establishment functioning:

"All the vast publicity machine that always goes into concerted action for a liberal cause had gone to work . . . an operation so honed and smoothed and refined over the years that none of its proprietors even had to consult with one another. The instinct had been alerted, the bell had rung, the national salivations had come forth on schedule."

And the result, of course, is the mainstream. And suggests how "Blacklist" may—I said may—rank so high.

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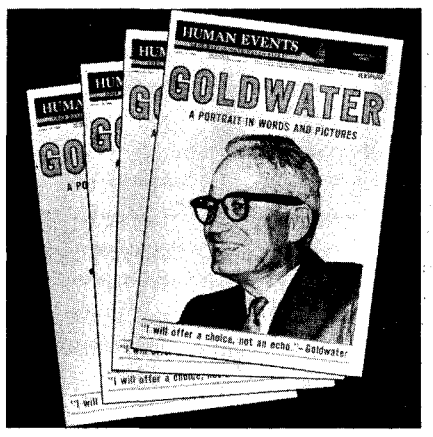

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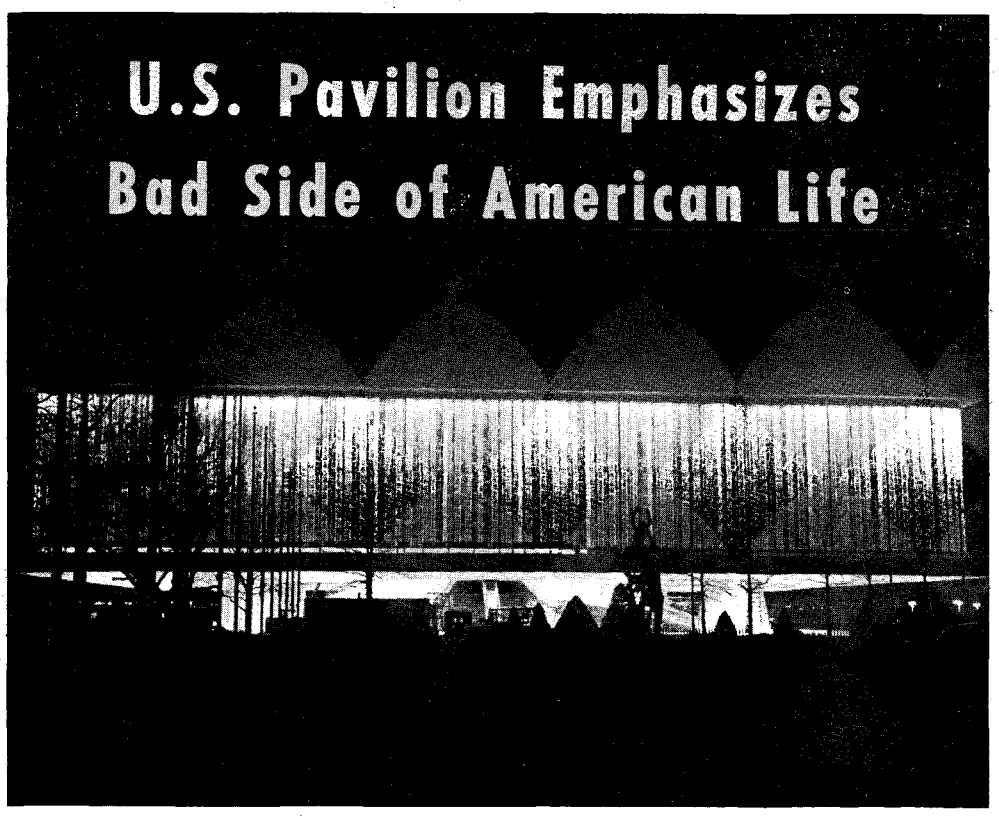
New York World's Fair



In the articles below, three congressmen report on recent trips to the World's Fair. The three—Durward Hall (R.-Mo.), Joe Waggonner Jr. (D.-La.) and Ben Reifel (R.-S. D.)—were appalled by the taxpayer-financed propaganda that fills the U. S. Pavilion.

Rep. Hall (R.-Mo.)

Rep. Waggonner (D.-La.)

Rep. Reifel (R.-S.D.)

By Rep. Durward Hall:

Over this past weekend I had the opportunity to be included in the congressional group that visited the New York World's Fair, at our own expense, incidentally. It was an exciting, well organized, and interesting experience, and I do not want my remarks regarding the one glaring disappointment to overshadow the basic fact that this fair is something that all Americans can and should be proud of.

This disappointment of which I speak is the one exhibit which should have aroused the most pride among those of us from the Congress who made the trip. I speak of the U. S. Building at the World's Fair. Not only is this exhibit intended to typify the best things about our country, but this Congress has a vested interest in its ability to do so, to the extent of a $17 million investment paid for by all the taxpayers of America.

Although the U. S. exhibit is under the jurisdiction of the U. S. Department of Commerce, I came away with the impression that our "Foggy Bottom" State Department played a far greater part in determining its contents, use and purpose.

About the only thing really indicative of America that I observed was a square-dance group located in the unifinished portion of the building, which was otherwise architecturally beautiful, large and impressive.

Most of the rest of the exhibit is devoted to facsimiles of old newspapers plastered upon the walls that make up the outer periphery of the exhibit. Aside from the lack of imagination that produced this kind of wall-to-wall coverage, the stories these newspaper articles tell are not of America's great traditions. Rather these reproduced newspaper headlines and stories are designed to play up out of all proper proportion, America's difficulties, political and social propaganda, and prattle.

Starting at one end of the corridor and reading across to the other, one reads mostly stories of our poverty, our civil rights controversies, our areas of so-called social concern, and, in general, an all-out effort intended to accentuate the negative and ignore the positive.

Then we were treated to a dissertation about the Peace Corps and all our domestic shortcomings, along with the reasons why all of them would be solved by adopting all the New Frontier proposals.

Then we were taken on a ride in moving carriages through a dark tunnel, and given some more "brainwashing" by the use of slides and movies. Although this is supposed to be an American exhibit, I had the impression that most of the hired help were foreign students who have a difficult time with the English language, let alone be expected to know American history. They seemed long on authority and over-equipped with two-way radios and long hair.

The one art exhibit to which we were exposed consisted of what I can only describe as hideous 6-by-8 foot murals of surrealistic paintings. They looked like something my 2-year-old granddaugher might have produced if she were turned loose unattended with a few buckets of paint and hands to smear with.

I cannot help but compare the federal exhibit, financed by American tax dollars, with the exhibit sponsored by my own state of Missouri, which I believe to be one of the outstanding exhibits at the fair. If ever there were a reason for placing greater trust in states' rights than in an ever-growing federal bureaucracy, a comparison of these two exhibits will show why there is so much sentiment today for the former. I hate to think of our underwriting the balance of the fair to the extent we have used the taxpayers' money.

By Rep. Joe Waggonner:

The fair itself has something for everyone, young and old. It is imaginative, colorful and exciting. The fair is, in short, all the things the U.S. Pavilion is not.

Our exhibit is neither colorful, exciting, or imaginative. It is architecturally a handsome building, a structure that does us credit. But what is inside is drab, dull and totally lacking in appeal to any age group.

With the thrilling story of this nation's progress, our heritage and our eventful past to draw on, it is embarrassing to see what we have come up with in the way of an exhibit.

Most of the story of the United States is told by a bunch of old newspaper clippings. The only other attraction worth mentioning is a mole-hole tunnel the visitors are taken through. It features some haphazard slides that reminded me of a lantern-slide lecture on the Chautauqua circuit.

The fair has just begun, and it would be a shame for millions of people from all over the world to find that this exhibit is the best we can do.

If ever there was a good argument for private enterprise over the federal bureaucracy system, our exhibit is it. The commercial pavilions are brilliant in concept and execution. Ours looks like the State Department pasted it together some Friday afternoon after work.

We have blotched the job and I suggest we get to work and clean up the mess.

By Rep. Ben Reifel:

Mrs. Reifel and I had the pleasure of attending the New York World's Fair last weekend. We managed to see most of the highlight exhibits and came away very favorably impressed.

Aside from the steep and sometimes unreasonable prices prevailing at some places, the only sour spot for us was—of all things—the United States Pavilion. From the outside, it was impressive. Inside, it was another story. There seemed to be no central theme portraying that which is good in American life. most of the exhibit showed walls plastered with newspapers featuring what might be termed political and social propaganda.

Prepared by the U. S. Commerce Department at a cost to the taxpayers of $17 million, the U. S. Pavilion is a testimonial to the superiority of private enterprise over governmental effort. It was a real disappointment.

Collectivized Housing

From *America's Future*

There are horrible examples around the country of what happens when government builds and subsidizes housing. The showplace of the public-housing advocates is supposed to be New York City. But according to an article in the *Freeman* by Jack Morano, a New York City officer attached to the department which polices these public-housing developments, the results are fantastically disheartening.

He says New York City provides the perfect example of the results of "compulsory collectivism" and "proof that collectivism does not work."

But why not go to the fountainhead collectivism? In Soviet Russia all housing is built by the government. Visitors returning from the Soviet showplace, Moscow, cannot help noticing—even on their carefully conducted tours—how bad Soviet Government-built housing really is. However, we need not take their word for it. An Associated Press dispatch recently reported that Russian apartment houses are falling apart.

Tenants and landlords (that is, Communist managers) pay no attention to either maintenance or repairs. Twenty million cubic yards of housing space have been lost through lack of repairs in the last three years. That's enough to house three million people—that is, three million people by Soviet Communist standards which pile whole families into one room. These facts about collectivized housing are not an AP reporter's anti-Soviet nightmare. They come right from the horse's mouth.

The situation is so bad that *Pravda*, the Communist party organ in Russia, wrote an angry editorial about it and the AP merely transmitted the facts as they appeared in *Pravda*. The Reds, of course, have a solution for the problem. *Pravda* recommended severe penalties for officials who don't repair apartments. As for the tenants who neglect or damage their so-called homes, *Pravda* says they should be sent to the provinces—that is, to Siberia.

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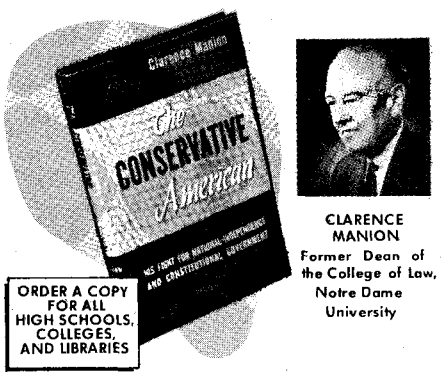

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How Lady Bird Johnson Tur

Multiplying $17,500 invested in a small radio station in 1943 into broadcasting properties worth today somewhere between $10 and $20 million is the story of Lady Bird (Horatio Alger) Johnson.

In Lady Bird's kindergarten year in radio—1943—there were hundreds of equally talented men and women with investments of $17,500 or more in radio stations. These hundreds of others have given their entire time and attention to their broadcasting business, yet even with the best of luck, only a handful of them today have a net worth of a few hundred thousands.

Lady Bird, on the contrary, amassed her fortune—imposing even in the state of Texas—while devoting only spare moments to her business investments. She has played as big a part in Lyndon's political activity as Eleanor Roosevelt played in Franklin D's. Her husband's fast-rising career has required nearly all of her time.

The difference between Lady Bird and the hundreds of other small-time radio station owners who were in radio in 1943 is that Lady Bird had a husband named Lyndon B. Johnson—who turned out to be the greatest wheeler-dealer in the history of Congress.

Even as early as 1943, Lady Bird's husband was recognized by all federal bureaus as the pet Southern congressman of Franklin D. Roosevelt, the President of the United States. LBJ was climbing fast in power. He was known to be aggressive and determined. He expected to be given what he—or his wife—demanded. He was recognized as a man who never forgives or forgets those who refuse what he—or his wife—want.

Here's the first installment of the broadcasting portion of the growth of the Johnson fortune. (The second installment will appear next week).

The story begins back in 1943 when Lyndon was finishing his sixth year as a Texas congressman.

For her start in radio, Lady Bird took $17,500 out of her inherited cash and bought a hopeless money loser, Austin radio station WTBC. In that adolescent period of radio, a station was fighting a losing battle if first, it was limited to part-time operation; secondly, it had no network affiliation. In 1943, network programming was a necessity for big profits in all but the biggest cities.

Married to an up-and-coming Congressman, Lady Bird—unlike the previous owner—found it easy to remove the station's two handicaps.

Her company sent to the Federal Communications Commission the first of many requests—not one of which has ever been turned down. The granting of these requests rather than her own much-vaunted business shrewdness has created her multi-million dollar fortune—a fortune greater even than John F. Kennedy's $10-plus million, which was the largest White House fortune up to November 22.

Lady Bird's first request to the FCC was for: (1) a change of frequency so her station could operate full-time, and (2) permission to double her power so her station could be heard at a greater distance, thus enormously increasing the market for her advertisers. These requests were granted in double-speed time.

Next, Lady Bird applied to CBS for network affiliation. Networks know the value of having friends in Congress.*

By 1943, the networks had spotted LBJ as a power to be courted. They were keenly conscious of the fact that LBJ had won election to the House of Representatives in 1937 by running as a 100 per cent FDR supporter, the only one of the nine candidates in that special election race taking that position. (Lyndon even went so far as to enthuse over FDR's court-packing plan.)

FDR made a special point of letting it be known that LBJ was his favorite Southern congressman—that Lyndon could get more favors from the White House than any other Southern congressman not holding high rank in the committees. Lyndon reciprocated by saying repeatedly that FDR was "like a daddy to me."

Then Lady Bird made application for the network affiliation she had to have; when it came to CBS chief William Paley he broke all records in ordering a CBS tie-up. Ever since, Paley, the No. 1 power in the broadcasting world, has been an intimate friend and advisor to the Johnsons.

Lady Bird's business career made its next great leap forward when Lyndon was elected to the upper house. Though a freshman senator, he won assignment in 1949 to the powerful Interstate Commerce Commission which oversees the operations of the Federal Communications Commission.

In two short years, Johnson became majority whip, his party's No. 2 power position in the Senate.

Young Texas Rep. Lyndon Johnson was a protege of President Franklin D. Roosevelt (1937 photo).

Lady Bird has played as big a part in Lyndon's political career as Eleanor Roosevelt did in FDR's.

One year later—1952—the FCC completed its all-important four-year engineering project for the allocation of television channels throughout the nation. The purpose of the project was to allocate channels so as to avoid interference on the television airwaves.

If VHF (very-high frequency) was to be the principal vehicle of popular broadcasting transmission, the number of channels would be severely limited and competition would be held to a minimum. If the medium was to be UHF (ultra-high frequency), there were far more channels available for popular programming than would be applied for.

Deciding to favor VHF channels, the commission had to begin with the decision to give the maximum number of stations to the largest cities and work on down from there.

The basic premise was that it was not practical to allocate both types of channel to the same metropolitan area. There were already several million VHF receiving sets in existence and no UHF's. Furthermore, VHF was superior in reception and could transmit longer distances.

Therefore, in the same city, to allocate VHF to some stations and UHF

*One proof of the political power which the networks have over Congress was demonstrated by the overwhelming rejection of a recent proposal to give FCC the power to limit the proportion of time given to "commercials" on radio and television. Another example of network power was shown a couple decades ago when the FCC, responding to a test of Congressional sentiment, barred non-advertising pay-radio; Congress has many times refused to consider an order to the FCC to remove the artificial barriers to pay-TV.

The vested interests being thus protected are the networks whose fantastic profits are built upon network domination of television advertising. By catering to powerful Congressmen like LBJ which have heavy stakes in broadcasting advertising, the networks are able to prevent any Congressional directive hostile to their own interests.

TEXAS TELEVISION STATIONS AND AUDIENCES

(Source: Standard Rate & Data Directory of Television stations, trade-area populations, retail sales and retail sales per capita)

Listed below are Texas cities which have one or more television stations in operation. As can be seen the population of Austin, where Lady Bird Johnson's KTBC-TV has a one-station monopoly, is larger than four of the cities with two stations and larger than Odessa-Midland which has three stations. In addition, KTBC-TV's retail sales for 1962 were larger than the majority of two-station cities and one with three stations; also the Austin per capita average was even bigger than that of El Paso, which has five stations. From this chart it can be most accurately seen that Mrs. Johnson enjoys her monopoly in an extremely rich and profitable market area.

	Population (trade area) 1964 est.	Retail sales 1962 (in 1,000's)	Per capita retail sales 1962
Five stations (1)			
El Paso	502,300	$ 555,849	$ 1,123
Four stations (1)			
San Antonio	1,097,200	1,158,703	1,087
Three stations (4)			
Amarillo	414,100	591,917	1,497
Beaumont	427,600	510,096	1,235
Houston	1,476,900	2,414,760	1,302
Odessa-Midland	226,500	350,276	1,513
Two stations (9)			
Abilene	233,700	299,926	1,324
Brownsville	371,500	338,794	883
Corpus Christi	409,600	473,538	1,133
Dallas	1,369,900	1,900,955	1,515
Fort Worth	888,700	1,195,622	1,394
Laredo	71,900	73,225	1,014
Lubbock	387,100	548,727	1,468
Waco	270,500	319,901	1,184
Wichita Falls	224,200	314,241	1,443
One station (5)			
Austin	316,700	350,937	1,182
Big Spring	50,200	71,402	1,463
San Angelo	159,100	211,841	1,347
Sherman	124,800	143,378	1,171
Tyler	159,500	187,489	1,170

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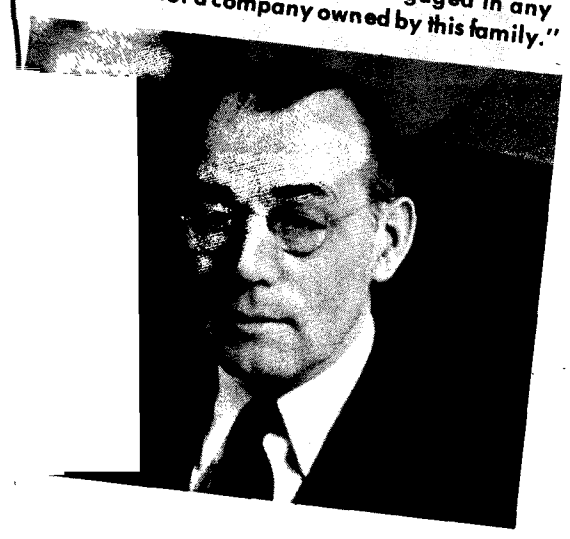
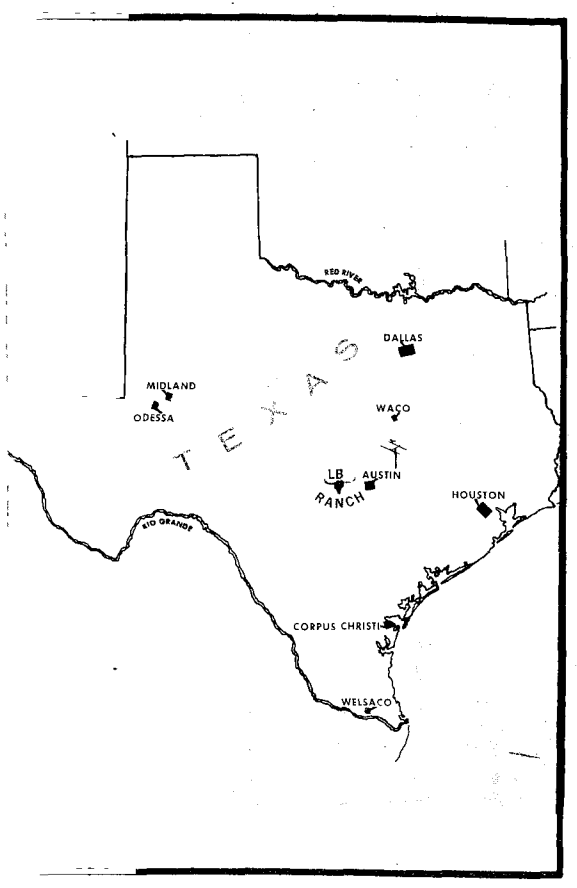
ONOPOLIES

ned $17,500 into $15 Million

As senator, LBJ was a powerful member of the Senate Interstate Commerce Committee, which oversees the operations of the Federal Communications Committee.



Rep. H. R. Gross (R.-Iowa) says, "The burden of proof is on the LBJ Co. to demonstrate that the FCC never engaged in any favoritism for a company owned by this family."



to others was simply to give each VHF station a sheet of paper (a "license") entitling it to make a fortune (depending upon size of city), while at the same time each UHF station would be given a sheet of paper entitling it to go into bankruptcy.

There was a compromise arrangement available. If there were not enough VHF channels possible in a given region, the logical expedient would be to authorize all-UHF bases for the cities which could not get enough VHF channels.

As an example of how this could be done, the FCC made Youngstown (the same size as Austin) an all-UHF city. Youngstown is only 61 air miles from Cleveland and 59 air miles from Pittsburgh, yet it has three hard-fighting television competitors—all equal in potential, if not in volume of business.

But if the FCC wished to play favorites, the perfect means was provided by the engineering limitations provided by the much superior VHF.

To Austin (population at that time, 132,549), the FCC allocated a single VHF channel. Nearby Corpus Christi (with a population of 108,287) was assigned three VHF stations. The one-channel allotment to Austin has continued to this day, although Austin has increased its population to 186,545; and Austin's monopoly status is the principal reason the Johnsons have been able to make their financial killing.

Two UHF (ultra-high frequency) stations were opened in Austin, but because few receiving sets could receive such broadcasts, the UHF stations quickly died—as has happened in every city where both VHF and UHF were placed in local competition.

In allocating Austin only one VHF channel, the commissioners announced that this one channel would be channel 7. As was easily predicted, channel 7 was just the channel for which Lady Bird Johnson had filed one month before the FCC's decision.

Every television operator in the United States at once knew that one little sheet of paper—the monopoly VHF license for Austin—would constitute an outright gift of millions of dollars to the favored party. It took the FCC only 10 days to decide to make this gift to the wife of the Senate Democratic leader—who was also the Democratic boss of the State of Texas and is known to be a man who bears grudges and does not forgive slights.

Lady Bird has the only television monopoly in America in a state capital with a population in excess of 50,000, excepting only cities close to great metropolises. The Johnson station, KTBC-TV, boasts the largest one-station-city audience in the United States (203,500 homes with TV sets).

The lowest estimates of the value of Lady Bird's KTBC-TV run between $7 and $10 million. Other expert television appraisers place it as high as $15 million. To substantiate the higher figure, qualified observers point to Sacramento, a state capital with the same population and advertising market as Austin. The California capital is a highly competitive television market (three stations); just one of the three Sacramento stations was recently sold for $8.5 million. How much more need be said?

However, the Johnsons were not content with their multi-million dollar Austin monopoly. They wanted more broadcasting properties. But they wanted potential monopolies, not hotly competitive spots.

They were willing to move into what initially was a competitive situation because the introductory capital cost would be low, but the station must have the reasonable expectation that Lyndon's political power position could convert a losing property into an immense monopoly moneymaker.

The Austin headquarters of Lady Bird's TV empire.

Following this policy, Lady Bird cast her eyes on Waco, Tex., 96 miles north of Austin. Waco's VHF television station, KWTX, was in the red because it was unable to obtain network affiliation. So in that city, the Johnsons bought a debt-ridden, lowly UHF station which was in competition with this much superior VHF station.

The purchase sounded like the act of a madwoman. But the knowledgeable in the broadcasting world shrewdly guessed what was coming. Sure enough, as soon as Lady Bird took over the UHF station, it was given network affiliation with both CBS and ABC.

This preference shown to UHF over a rival VHF is probably one of the rarest occurrences—perhaps the only one—in the history of broadcasting. The networks instinctively know the decision to make when Lady Bird is an applicant.

Having network programs to offer her viewers, Mrs. Johnson made her next move to destroy her fast-weakening Waco competitor. She asked the FCC for an increase in the transmitting power of her Austin station. The power sought was to be strong enough to cut deeply into Waco's market.

The owners of the beleaguered Waco Station KWTX charged the Johnsons with violating the anti-trust laws. Two stations under the same ownership are not legally allowed to tap the same market. Yet here was Lady Bird, owning a station in Waco, seeking permission to transmit from her Austin station into the Waco trading area.

Almost instantly her Waco competitor saw the hopelessness of the fight and dropped the anti-trust suit. In exchange for Lady Bird's UHF station, she received 29 per cent of the stock in KWTX; the consolidated enterprise closed down the inferior UHF station that Lady Bird had owned and the CBS-ABC tie-up was transferred to the 29 per cent Johnson-owned VHF station.

LBJ's industrious wife had acquired a valuable holding in another television monopoly city.

In 1956, the LBJ Company turned south to the border town of Welsaco. It sought the FCC's permission to buy stock in KRGV-TV which was failing for lack of network affiliation. A rival television group also entered a bid, but the FCC ruled for the Johnson Company, and Lady Bird got 50 per cent of the station.

As in Austin and Waco, just as soon as the "magic" Johnson touch was applied, station KRGV-TV immediately got the two items it needed to convert a heavy loser into a big profit-maker: (1) affiliation with NBC and ABC and (2) an FCC-authorized increase in power so the station could broaden its market.

Two years later, for a paltry $100,000, the LBJ Company bought the remaining 50 per cent of the stock, together with an affiliated radio station. The Johnsons then had full ownership of a third television monopoly.

In 1961, Lady Bird sold the whole Welsaco bundle for $1.4 million.

The Johnson broadcasting assets also include a large and highly appraised AM-FM radio station in Austin, as well as the local franchise for Muzak "piped" music.

Finally, there is the Austin television relay enterprise. This asset, like the other principal elements in the Johnson story, depends in large part upon the receipt of government-conferred monopoly privileges, each automatically adding millions to the family fortune.

Watch for the TV-relay story in *Human Events*.

Twelve state capitals with populations less than that of Austin have two or more TV stations. They are all VHF stations, except in the case of Harrisburg, Pa., which is an all-UHF city.

STATE	CAPITAL	POPULATION	STATIONS
Florida	Tallahassee	48,174	2
Idaho	Boise	34,481	2
Louisiana	Baton Rouge	152,419	2
Michigan	Lansing	113,058	3
Mississippi	Jackson	114,422	2
Nebraska	Lincoln	128,521	2
New York	Albany	129,726	2
North Carolina	Raleigh-Durham	172,233	2
North Dakota	Bismark	27,670	2
Pennsylvania	Harrisburgh	79,697	2 all UHF
Texas	Austin	186,545	1
Tennessee	Nashville	170,874	4
Wisconsin	Madison	126,706	2

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Strategic Choices in Viet Nam

While the war goes badly, the Administration ignores the advice of two Far East experts

By JOHN CHAMBERLAIN

The war goes badly in South Viet Nam. Meanwhile, the Administration shows no signs of listening to some of our most experienced hands in Far Eastern warfare. Gen. Albert Wedemeyer's proposal to bring the Formosan Chinese into SEATO, and to let some of Chiang Kai-shek's troops take a hand in the defense of South Viet Nam is ignored. And the similar ideas of Gen. Charles Willoughby, who was MacArthur's G-2 for a decade of Pacific war and military occupation, get as far as inclusion in the *Congressional Record*, where they languish and die.

Willoughby's spokesman in Congress is Rep. Daniel Flood of Pennsylvania, who is impressed with the

Gen. Albert Wedemeyer would bring Formosan China into SEATO and have Chiang's troops help in the fighting in South Viet Nam.

argument that it would be futile to commit what Willoughby calls "the expensive American draftee" to the tropical jungles of Southeast Asia. For a decade, as Willoughby has pointed out to Flood, the French poured thousands of conscripts from Europe and Morocco into what used to be known as French Indochina, only to lose the war in 1954 with the collapse at Dienbienphu. At the end the French effort came to nothing precisely because regular army manpower, in a guerrilla-infested region, is not the key to victory.

Willoughby's recommendation to President Kennedy was to use the West's "magic" weapons—the nuclear armament—"to offset the inexhaustible manpower of Asia" in the Viet Nam theatre.

"The expensive Western draftee," so he wrote the late President, "cannot be equated with the illiterate, Asiatic cannon-fodder, armed with Czech or Soviet machine guns. The use of American ground troops is 'attrition-suicide' . . . . The use of modern weapons (and the air delivery system) imposes no more moral strain than when Truman unleashed the first atomic bomb on Hiroshima—indeed, the provocation was far less . . . "

The Hiroshima population, so Willoughby points out, included thousands of harmless stenographers and clerks, whereas we would be cutting at bridges and distribution points in North Viet Nam if we were to use the bomb in that region.

With deference to the recent growth of "ban-the-atom-bomb" public opinion, however, Gen. Willoughby's most recent advice as set forth to Rep. Flood is to extend the war to North Viet Nam by using conventional, or "iron," bombs, which would be sufficient to the task of disrupting the Communist supply lines. The road network for Hanoi, in North Viet Nam, via Nape, Khami Keu, Chepone and Attopeu in Laos, could be reached from any American aircraft carrier lying off the Viet Nam coast. This would involve disrespect for the "neutrality" of Laos, but the Communists have been violating that neutrality right along.

This column does not pretend to any expertise in the sort of warfare needed to discourage the North

Gen. Charles Willoughby says conventional bombs should be used to bomb Communist supply lines in North Viet Nam.

Vietnamese to the point where they would be willing to call off their infiltration of South Viet Nam. But it does insist that alternatives, when offered by military men with long experience in Asia, should at least be discussed without bringing on charges about "right-wing plots."

The New York publicist, Marvin Liebman, takes the Willoughby view that Americans are dying uselessly in the jungles of Southeast Asia in a type of warfare that cannot be won. But when he undertook as a private citizen to draft a statement of protest to be circulated for the signatures of the next-of-kin of 127 Americans killed in Viet Nam from January 1961 through March of 1964, he was promptly smeared as "a former member of the Young Communist League." The fact is that Liebman's momentary dalliance with communism was a youthful indiscretion that happened 22 years ago.

When Sen. Joe McCarthy reached two decades into the past to smear certain liberals as former Communists, the hue and cry in liberal circles was terrific. But nobody cries out when "McCarthyism" is practiced by the liberal side.

The statement drafted by Liebman in cooperation with Mr. Charles Tuthill, whose son was killed in Viet Nam last October, was published as an advertisement that was paid for with $4,000 raised by Charles Edison, former governor of New Jersey, from some thirty individuals. All the advertisement did was to raise the question of "why" in relation to the GI deaths in Southeast Asia. With Secretary McNamara taking five trips to Viet Nam in hopes of providing an answer to the same question, where does the "right-wing plot" come in?

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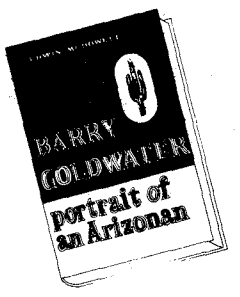

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Reuther Memo Outlines Drive on Auto Industry

By VICTOR RIESEL

Walter Reuther and his union's high command are on the march against the automobile industry. They have put down their demands and battle plans in a series of confidential documents which are certain to raise temperatures and blood pressures in the air-conditioned executive suites of the manufacturers and the White House.

If the United Automobile Workers (UAW) union chiefs stick to these demands—and they say privately that they will—there will certainly be a series of strikes this summer and fall unless President Johnson intervenes. He will. But that may not avert all the walkouts.

Copies of one of these sizzling documents, an angrily worded, 71-page, mimeographed booklet, are now in the hands of leaders of locals of General Motors' 131 plants. It was handed to key regional labor officials at their Detroit strategy conference last week for guidance when they returned to their home cities.

Called "Justice on the Job," it contains 25 points. The last is considered the most vital, according to insiders. Referred to simply as "Working Conditions," this four-page section provides an insight into what motivates the rank-and-file.

It is clear that the UAW will urge its locals to fight for a 10-minute rest period each hour—or about 80 minutes during a normal work day.

There is a graphically written demand for "privacy" in the wash rooms. There is a charge that supervisors insist that, during relief time, the employe go directly to the washroom and then back to the assembly line. The union will insist on the worker's right to do what he wills with his relief time.

There are demands for work clothes and work gloves to be supplied by the company in good condition, for the right to refuse to work if the ventilation and other conditions "deemed proper" by the union are not met by the company, for time off and away from the factory for the handling of personal family and business matters.

Another demand set out is for the ending of overtime while some union members are unemployed—unless there is a "short-time emergency." The union says it will insist that it participate in deciding what constitutes the emergency. Furthermore, overtime shall be paid at double and triple time rates.

Reuther's union also wants a change in what management considers its rights. There is a clause in the GM-UAW contract which says:

"The right to hire; promote; discharge or discipline for cause; and to maintain discipline and efficiency of employes, is the sole responsibility of the corporation except that union members shall not be discriminated against as such. In addition, the products to be manufactured, the location of plants, the schedules of production, the methods, processes and means of manufacturing are solely and exclusively the responsibility of the corporation."

The union's document says that these "rights" are not unrestricted and the section "shall not be continued in any new agreement unless mutually acceptable language can be developed which will put in proper perspective the various items specified and which will make clear the mutuality of interest of the employer and the employe, the corporation and the union in these improperly termed 'management rights.'"

No company would budge on this one and insistence on such a change could cost the UAW its entire $65-million strike fund.

These are but a few of the union demands on just one company, albeit the biggest, with 354,000 plant workers.

Not included in this document is a formula for earlier retirement, because Reuther has not yet firmed it up. There is pressure from local union leaders around the Flint, Mich., area for a system permitting workers to retire after 25 or 30 years in the plants.

But Reuther objects, because this could mean that a chap who started at 20 years of age could retire from the auto plant at 45 or 50 years of age and take another job while receiving a pension. This would not remove the so-called retiree from the work force and would not make for more job vacancies.

Reuther has been arguing inside the executive board that the money which the "25 to 30 year" formula would cost the companies would be used instead to buy annuities for the workers. This would give them $400 a month at 60 years of age.

Or, says Reuther, a formula could be developed which would give a retiring 60-year-old worker full pay until he is 65. Then the company would continue to pay about $120 a month instead of the full wage. With Social Security this could come to $300 a month.

But the proposals for earlier retirement are far from being abandoned.

These are just a few of the high spots—but enough to portend a "hot" summer.

(Distributed 1964 by the Hall Syndicate, Inc.)

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'War on Poverty': Marxism or Political Football?

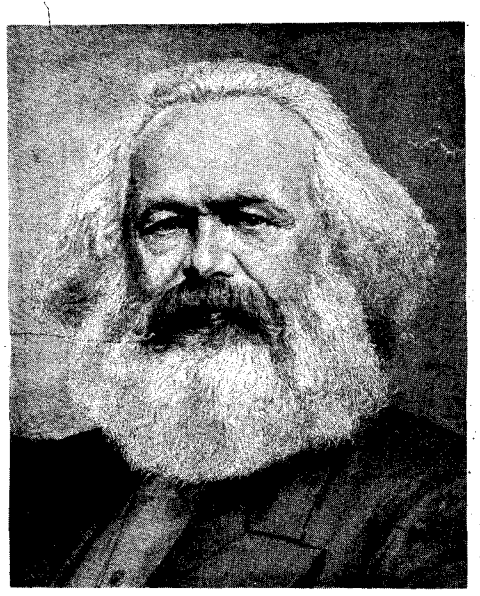
By PROF. HANS SENNHOLZ
Chairman, Economics Dept., Grove City (Pa.) College

Precisely 100 years ago Karl Marx announced the coming of socialism because, supposedly, individual enterprise s to the misery and degradation of the working classes. The capitalists, on the other hand, prosper and accumulate, and their enterprises grow so enormously that, finally, the millions of paupers who linger in unemployment and under-employment expropriate the capitalistic expropriators. This, according to Marx, is the dawn of socialism.

It may very well be that the "war on poverty" which the Johnson Administration has just declared is conceived in confusion, developed in politics and timed for an election year. But whatever the motivation may be, the poverty war, as any other war, cannot generate wealth, or even alleviate the suffering of the poor.

On the contrary, inasmuch as it enhances the role of the federal government, and proposes to spend many billions of tax dollars, and, before the eyes of the world, echoes the Marxian allegations, it will further weaken our enterprise system and hamper economic production, income and wealth.

The arbitrary character of the program emerges already from the very



Before the eyes of the world, LBJ's anti-poverty program echoes Karl Marx' allegations that private enterprise leads to the degradation of the working classes.

figures and statistics used by the poverty fighters. According to the President's first set, 25 per cent of the American population subsist in poverty. Later he spoke of 9 million families. Various government departments and agencies use different statistics.

In 1935 President Franklin D. Roosevelt proclaimed that "one-third" of the nation was "underfed, underclothed, and underhoused." Of a population of some 128 million this meant almost 43 million. Today, after 30 years of wealth and income redistribution, the U. S. President deplores the dismal poverty of 25 per cent of the present population of 191 million, or 47.75 million. He implies that during these years of New Dealism, Fair Dealism, New Republicanism and New Frontierism poverty in the United States has actually increased.

These poverty statistics, we are told, do not contradict numerous other government statistics that show rising national product, rising national income, growing volumes of trade and spending.

If we were to believe this juggling of statistics we could draw two cogent conclusions: (1) the Marxian analysis of capitalism is right: rising production is accompanied by misery of the working class; (2) the paternalism and redistribution during the last 30 years failed to prevent the degradation of the poor, a failure also envisioned by Karl Marx. In fact, during his lifetime Marx had uncompromisingly opposed all government intervention because, in his belief, it was utterly futile to oppose the coming of socialism.

But we do not draw these conclusions because we deny the very premise. We believe that in spite of 30 years of radical intervention, which has hampered production and wasted incalculable resources, the American individual enterprise economy, although hampered and mutilated, has generated more income and wealth than any other system in history.

We believe that the United States has no institutional poverty and that even our least productive workers live in relative luxury and comfort when compared with their counterparts abroad.

Finding the Poor

The President apparently arrived at his poverty estimate by simply designating as "poor" all families with annual money income of less than $3,000 and all single individuals with annual money income of less than $1,500. I doubt that we could find more than a handful of workers in most parts of Asia and Africa who enjoy such royal labor income. Of course, incomes from government offices and U. S. foreign aid frequently exceed labor incomes. Even in Western and Central Europe young judges, lawyers, doctors, dentists and professors do not reach $3,000 per year. Manual laborers earn fractions of this amount.

Most Americans now designated as indigent would resent this charge if they actually knew that the President meant *them*.

As a graduate student at New York University and a part-time clerk, I never earned more than $1,500, which sufficed to work my way through school with $35 tuition per credit. Even as a young college instructor, President Johnson's definition of poverty would have included me.

With all my heart I resent his supercilious and arrogant description of some glorious years of my life.

It is obvious that politicians who have grown accustomed to spending billions of other people's money have lost touch with economic reality and the meaning of life.

In 1956 the Federal Reserve Board surveyed the 3 million families with less than $2,000 incomes. It found that 40 per cent of these families owned their own homes. Of these "very poor" homeowners 86 per cent had no mortgage debt. Close to 50 per cent of the total number had liquid savings of $500 or more.

It would be most interesting and revealing to survey the income and wealth of congressmen prior to their election and move to Washington. Many probably emerged from these circles which look indigent and poverty-stricken indeed after a few years among the world's biggest spenders.

It is estimated that our federal, state, and local governments spend annually some $40 billion on "welfare." This does not include some $15-odd billion devoted to public education. Per pauper, as defined by President Johnson, this amounts to nearly $1,000 annually. Of course the costs of administration; i.e. bureaucracy, considerably reduces the net amount.

From a modest beginning in 1932, when the Federal Emergency Relief Act made available $300,000,000 for loans to the states for use in providing relief for needy unemployed, the federal government has assumed the dominating role in poor relief.

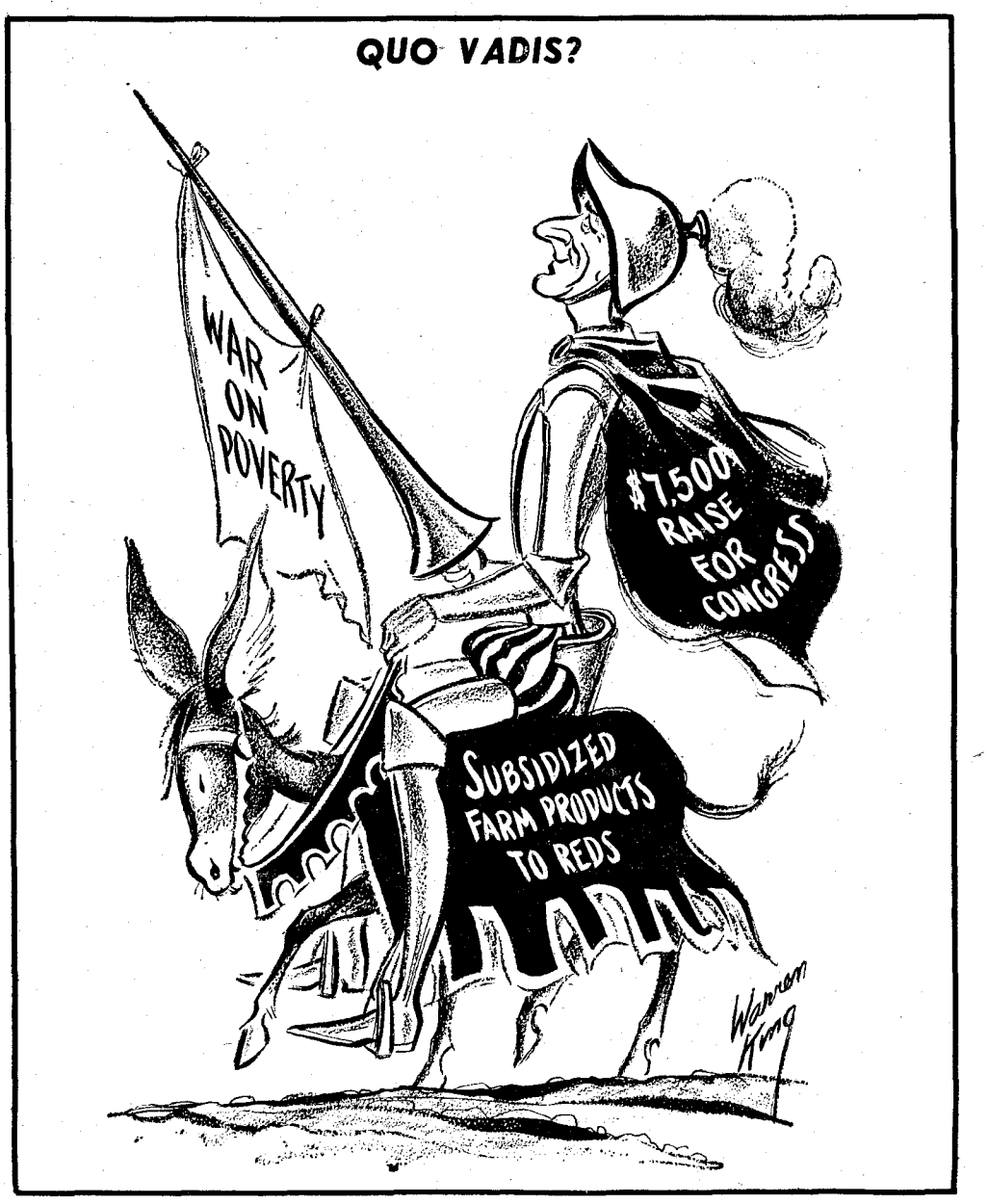
Experience in England

Those who now applaud this role of the central government would do well to review the sad experience of England. The great Elizabethan Poor Laws, passed between the years 1597 and 1601, substituted the responsibility of the central government and the community for the ancient principle of religious mercy and charity. These laws soon combined aid to the poor with the punishment of beggars and vagrants. Poor families were often broken up and farmed out to householders, or condemned to a life of poverty and cruelty in poor houses.

In short, when the central government realized the futility of its efforts and the incorrigibility of individual poverty, it was determined to outlaw it and abolish it by force.

It is no coincidence that the cruelty of the punishment of trivial offenses by paupers increased throughout the centuries of English Poor Laws. For instance, there were 17 offenses punishable by death in the early part of the 15th Century. The number had multiplied to 350 in 1780, practically all of the increase aimed at beggars and vagrants. During the age of the Elizabethan Poor Laws more than 100,000 English paupers were put to death.

This is not to imply that the American pauper will soon face inhumanities from the hands of the federal government. But when poverty is removed from Christian mercy and charity and delivered to the embrace of an omnipotent state, the pauper is bound to lose his independence, freedom and dignity.



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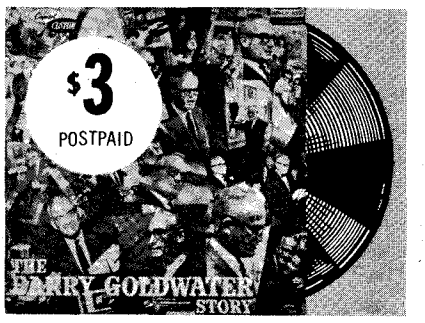

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New Religious Issue?

By RUSSELL KIRK

The presidential election of 1960 settled the question of whether a Catholic can be President. The only chance of a similar issue arising this year is the hostility toward Sen. Goldwater —supposing him nominated—in some quarters because of his Jewish ancestry. But this is not liable to become so much-discussed a point as was the Kennedy Catholicism.

Yet another religious issue may well emerge in the next few months and Sen. Goldwater, more than anyone else, is likely to be involved in it. For among major presidential possibilities only the senator from Arizona has endorsed the campaign for an amendment to the Constitution which would make possible prayer and Bible-reading in public schools.

An amendment to this effect—at present tied up by Congressman Celler in the House Judiciary Committee—has been introduced by Congressman Becker, of New York. It would also guarantee the right to use the name of God and religious invocation in public documents, the coinage, and the like.

Very powerful backing from people in both parties and among both Protestants and Catholics is behind the "prayer amendment." At least 13 state governors, for instance, are actively supporting it. And according to polls, some three-fourths of the American public oppose the Supreme Court decisions which struck down prayer and Bible-reading in state-supported educational institutions.

"There is absolutely no doubt that the prayer issue, despite a continuing news blackout, has caught the imagination of millions of Americans," a Catholic seminarian writes to this commentator. "Groups have formed in many states; rallies and petitions and mail to Congress multiply. By their own bootstraps, in state after state, amendment supporters have put state legislatures on record for amendment, have organized massive correspondence with congressmen, have kept public opinion aroused. And this is a growing crescendo. Nearly two years after the first 'prayer decision,' and with small help from the news media or most prominent church people, there is a mushrooming grass-roots effort for amendment."

This reader goes on to point out that a public discussion of this popular issue could tear the Democratic party apart in a struggle between Northern Americans-for-Democratic-Action-type liberals, and Southern and Middlewestern Bible-reading Democrats.

Any candidate who should emphasize the need for the "prayer amendment" might rally round himself not merely Republicans (the Republican House Policy Committee has endorsed the amendment), but also independents and many Democrats, both Protestant and Catholic. "There exists a mass of Americans, many of whom have been engaged in this fight for months, crying for a leader."

Sen. Goldwater, an Episcopalian, might possibly do well to affirm even more strongly his support for the "prayer amendment." He might even have the sympathy of such Christian political liberals as Bishop James A. Pike, the Californian Episcopalian who is one of the leaders of the Constitutional Prayer Foundation, the biggest organization backing the amendment.

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Strike Violence in Tenn.

By DONALD I. ROGERS

The young mother surveyed the wreckage of her home, destroyed by a dynamite bomb which landed 20 feet from her three sleeping children. "I escaped from the Russian part of Germany and came over here," she said. "I didn't know I was going to get into something like this. It's worse here than it was over there."

No foreign power occupies Kingsport, Tenn. Its 33,000 residents presume they are governed by and protected by the sovereign laws of the state of Tennessee and the United States of America. But terror, violence, bloodshed, destruction and hatred are as commonplace in Kingsport as in the heart of the Mau Mau country—perhaps more so.

On March 11, 1963, a strike began against the Kingsport Press, one of the nation's largest manufacturers of hard-cover books.

Most Americans have never been in a strike. They should realize that the terror in Kingsport is not typical. But it is a time-fused bomb, latent in every strike, for no strike is called without heat and some rancor.

As a three-year contract drew to a close in 1962, the company met with union representatives on over 100 separate occasions and resolved all minor issues. During that period the company had raised its offer on wages and benefits on four separate occasions. Kinsport Press was already the highest wage-payer in town. Many journeymen printers earned $10,000 a year with overtime, and would have fared much better under the company's final offer.

Rejecting the company's fourth and final offer, union representatives walked out, stating, according to Press spokesmen, that they wouldn't even take the last offer back to the individual memberships.

After the strike began, Anthony J. De Andrade, president of the International Pressman's Union, stated, according to the local paper, that a major reason for seeking higher wages, shorter hours and longer vacations was that they were sub-standard when compared with big printing firms. He also said that pressure from the Press' competitors was also a factor in the demands, according to the paper.

Kingsport Press rehired those of its workers who didn't want to join in the strike. It also hired outsiders to fill some of the vacant jobs. That's when the trouble started.

For a year, now, and more, Kingsport has been the scene of unpredictable violence. Freight trains have been forced to stop. Trucks have been driven off the highways and contents destroyed. Tear gas has been thrown in the windows of homes. Gangs bearing switch-blades attacked Press employes and several were slashed. Acid has been thrown at employes. Shotgun, rifle and pistol fire has been directed at homes, trailers, cars, even school busses.

Kingsport Press is operating, but at a loss. About 1,900 of its former production workers are employed, at least on the record.

There the matter stands. No meetings have been scheduled between management and the striking unions. With nerves taut, residents reflect on deep animosities. Who has won in Kingsport?

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New Giveaway to Poor Farmers

By JENKIN LLOYD JONES

Tolstoy's *War and Peace* is a classic that everybody talks about but that not many people have read. The same goes for House Resolution 10440, the bill under which President Johnson intends to wage his much-heralded "war on poverty."

The bill occupies 47 pages and, like Venus, it is surrounded by thick clouds of vapor and shines brightly. Among many other things, it seems to be a land reform measure unique in American history. Under its provisions American taxpayers will go far toward buying farms for people who think they would like to farm.

Section 302 provides for grants (i.e., gifts) of up to $1,500 to low-income rural families for purchasing farms, reducing mortgages on existing farms, or "to finance non-agricultural enterprises which will enable such families to supplement their income."

There will also be offered 15-year loans of up to $2,500 per family. This will be in addition to loans presently available under other federal programs. But that's not all.

Section 303 calls for federal assistance for "family farm development corporations." Such corporations will buy land, divide it into family-sized farms, build farm buildings, fences, etc., and sell it "at appraised value when used for agricultural purposes."

In many states "appraised value" for tax purposes runs 30 per cent or less of actual value. But Uncle Sam will take care of that, too. For subsection (d) says: "The Director is authorized to make grants to such corporations in amounts sufficient to make up the deficiency between the cost of the farms and the net proceeds received from the sale of such farms."

And the interest rates on these loans? Section 306 (d) says the rate shall be "not less than a rate determined by the secretary of the Treasury, taking into consideration the average market yield on outstanding Treasury obligations of comparable maturity."

It doesn't say "not less than the average market yield on Treasury obligations"—only that this shall be "taken into consideration."

What this all seems to mean is that Citizen A, if he wants a farm, must make his own down payment and borrow the rest at commercial rates. Citizen B, being deemed underprivileged, will get a government gift of the down payment, plus a loan, plus a sale price below cost.

With the nation already suffering from a glut of farm produce, much of which must be purchased by the taxpayers to rot or be given away, it remains to be seen how much the national economy will be improved by creating thousands of new government-subsidized family farms for the benefit of those who haven't been able to make the grade otherwise.

Section 411 on page 29 carries a curious proposal to make loans to employers who will agree to hire more men. It would lend up to $10,000 multiplied by the number of new jobs. The new jobs are to be filled (the bill reads) by "persons not already employed by the borrower, a majority of whom will be recruited from among the long-term unemployed and members of low-income families."

This seems to mean that an employer wanting to build a $100,000 plant can get his money at Treasury rates if he hires six jobless people at minimum wages and another four men away from some other employer.

If you like shotguns filled with fine birdshot you might enjoy Section 602 (k) and (1) as follows:

"The Director is authorized to, notwithstanding any other provision of law relating to the acquisition, handling, or disposal of real or personal property by the United States, deal with, complete, rent, renovate, modernize, or sell for cash or credit at his discretion any properties acquired by him in connection with loans, participations, and guarantees made by him pursuant to titles III (Programs to Combat Poverty in Rural Areas) and IV (Employment in Investment Incentives) of this act;

"To collect or compromise all obligations to or held by him and all legal or equitable rights accruing to him in connection with the payment of obligations until such obligations may be referred to the attorney general for suit or collection."

If this is the English language these passages exempt the Director from all existing laws governing the handling of U.S. property plus granting him the privilege of "compromising;" i. e., forgiving part or all of loans advanced in good faith by the U.S. government until such time as these loans "may be," not "must be," referred to the attorney general for collection.

What is this but carte blanche for a new federal give-away?

There's a lot more in this bill, including the stirring wind-up on page 47, calling for an appropriation of $962 million for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1965, "and thereafter such sums as are necessary to carry out this act."

"War on poverty." It's a terrific slogan, particularly in an election year. It puts doubters under the unenviable suspicion of being in favor of poverty.

But if you haven't read H.R. 10440 ask your congressman for a copy. If you show enough interest maybe he'll read it, himself.

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□ □ □

SO WHAT ELSE IS NEW, MR. SECRETARY?—"When the President first asked that I accept appointment as the Secretary of Defense in his Cabinet, my immediate reaction was to question my own competency."—Robert S. McNamara, writing in the April-June issue of the *Civil Service Journal.*

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'Walter Reuther is an earnest Marxist, chronically inebriated, I think, by the exuberance of his verbosity.'

says John L. Lewis

REUTHER

Washington, D.C.—A phonograph record now available for immediate release to you features startling quotes such as the above by powerful men who control our labor unions today. These men have shocking plans for America. And they know each other far better than the American public knows any of them. Witness the devastating attack on Walter Reuther (above), made not (as you might expect) by Sen. Barry Goldwater, but rather by none other that President Emeritus John L. Lewis of the United Mine Workers, a tough-as-nails bushy-browed anti-Communist who warns you in this record of the danger to your liberties now afforded by Auto Workers Chief Walter Reuther!

Some of the things you will hear on this record will absolutely *shock* you. You may even find it hard, in some cases, to believe they are true. And yet they are true—every word of them!

When you get your copy of this record, put it right on the turntable and listen yourself to these documented statements by and about our labor leaders.

LEWIS

You can listen, for example, to "Moderator" Don Gardiner, make this remark to Walter Reuther:

"Mr. Reuther, you have long had an interest in a so-called 'planned' economy. E. L. Dayton, in his recent book about you, refers to the controversial letter you and your brother, Victor, are alleged to have written on your visit to Russia, way back in 1934. He quotes a paragraph of that letter to the effect 'We are watching, daily, socialism being taken down from the books on the shelves and put into actual application. Who could not be inspired by such events?' Now that was years ago, of course, but just what is your attitude toward government planning of the economy?"

You will then hear, next on your recording, these actual words by AFL-CIO Vice President, Walter Reuther: "I think the government should create an overall agency to regulate and begin to work out plans to plan and coordinate economical factors in our national economy. We have not forgotten that free enterprise did not meet the requirements of war, and it will not meet the requirements of peace. . . . The labor movement can only be effective if it becomes less an economic movement and more a social movement."

Then, next on the record, you will hear United Mineworkers leader John L. Lewis interrupt with these actual, truthfully quoted words: "Reuther is an earnest Marxist, chronically inebriated, I think, by the exuberance of his verbosity."

And "exchanges" such as this are only a small part of this recording. You will also hear, for example, Teamsters Boss Jimmy Hoffa saying: "You cannot have a one-city strike anymore, or a strike in just one kind of transportation. You have to strike them all!"

Frightening words? Sound like a threat of a massive labor movement to bring all America to its knees? Do you doubt that our unions would go this far? Then listen to this actual quote on your record by James Carey, head of the Electrical Workers' Union: "Every other nationwide strike from now on will be not just a one-union strike, but a strike of the entire American labor movement."

But why these all-encompassing strikes, you ask? Why can't workers gain fair pay and working conditions by peaceful collective bargaining with executives of their individual companies? What BIG NEW AIM lies behind such ultimatums by union chieftains?

Listen to this record for your answer direct from George Meany, top man in the 15,000,000-member AFL-CIO. "The scene of battle," he will say, "is no longer the company plant nor the picket line. It has moved into the legislative halls of Congress and the state legislatures. The Committee on Political Education, a political arm of the AFL-CIO, has concentrated its efforts day in and day out on the election of liberal progressive candidates to Congress."

Does this blunt declaration bother you, as it does many *thinking* Americans? It doesn't bother Mr. Meany.

You will hear him say on your record that: "If there is fear about too much power, how can there be too much power, if the power is for good and is used only for good? You just can't *have* too much power."

This statement by Mr. Meany, along with all other statements by and about the American labor leaders, has been taken from actual books or speeches. The *professional actors* who recreate the voices on this record do such an incredibly convincing job that your friends will swear, when they hear your record, that these are the real voices of these well-known union bosses.

The simulated round-table forum on this record, skillfully created by weaving together the above and many other statements, sounds so lifelike that you'll have to pinch yourself to remember that it is, after all, just a record and not a hot-tempered bull session.

MEANY

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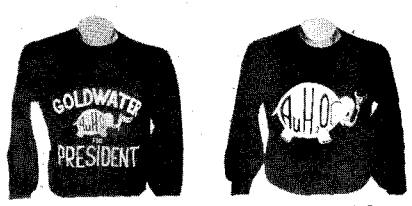

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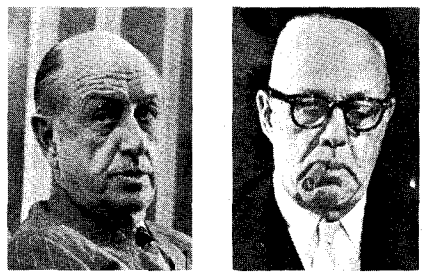
Liberal Propaganda Over Foreign Aid

By IRENE CORBALLY KUHN

The pressure which the Administration put on Congress to reverse itself on foreign aid was finally successful. The House approved an additional $132 million contribution to the International Development Assn. (IDA) which it had rejected on February 26.

Political genius that he is, President Johnson can thank such worthies as Eugene R. Black, former World Bank chief; George Meany, AFL-CIO; and John J. McCloy, prominent Chase Manhattan Bank official. The President gave his blessing to these men and others in a pro-foreign aid group formed to offset growing grass-roots



Liberal industrial and labor leaders such as Eugene Black (left), former World Bank chief, and George Meany, head of the AFL-CIO have sought to offset the grass-roots pressures on Congress to cut foreign giveaways.

pressure on the Congress. These labor and industrial leaders and other like-minded individuals from various other fields of American life and endeavor are hell-bent on continuous give-away of American money.

Why this should be so is hard to understand. It is, however, symptomatic of the brain-washing we have all had from the zealots in and out of government who have made a career of bureaucratic philanthropy with everybody's money.

> The philosophy behind this glorifies internationalism over nationalism; it is the new liberalism which insists on forcing backward economies and tribal communities into full integration and participation with 20th Century industrialized and push-button society, no matter how unready and ill-equipped these people may be for this.

The International Development Assn. is an affiliate of the World Bank, which makes loans to developing countries. It is undoubtedly a better form of foreign aid than outright grants, but the question remains: should we continue this lavish use of our money for any form of foreign aid when so much remains to be done at home?

It has taken a long time for any administration to get worked up over the scattered sores of American poverty like Appalachia, and publicize this so avidly that it becomes a terrible ache in the American conscience. Yet we have been encouraged to wallow in sentimentality over the plight of Africans, Asians and others, whose native overlords for centuries have shown they couldn't care less.

For example, the Center for International Studies of MIT submitted a study published in July 1957 as Senate Document No. 52 titled "Objectives of the U.S. Economic Assistance Program." The study claims that "an effectively designed program of aid for economic development is the best instrument available to the United States for encouraging the growth of politically mature, democratic societies. American economic assistance could within two decades catalyze self-sustaining economic growth in most of the underdeveloped world."

This is the ultra-liberal line which has been fed to the American people to mollify them as their tax dollars were shipped overseas, year after year.

And, paradoxically, as the United States has been seduced into forsaking its patriotic nationalism and loyalty to its own interests, all the new, "developing" nations, as well as the old, long-established ones, have come full circle and put nationalism and self-interest first.

Take France, for instance, and the report of the committee of 21, headed by the Hon. J.M. Jeanneney, created by President deGaulle to study how best to aid developing nations. In part the study finds that the people of Europe and North America enjoy a high standard of living which "is the product of agricultural and industrial techniques which men of European origin . . . brought to realization . . .

"It is very tempting to dream that transfer of knowledge can in a few years bring . . . the same abundance" to underdeveloped areas. "But if the masses . . . themselves refrain from exerting the necessary efforts, then illusion will give way only to barren bitterness and perhaps fruitless revolt . . .

"Qualified personnel . . . are lacking in almost all the underdeveloped nations . . . .

"No amount of gifts and loans from abroad, however generous, can furnish durably the capital needed for investments . . . . The absolutely imperative condition for continuing development is that the population work hard . . . . Decolonization never has in itself been a guarantee of development . . . . The amelioration of the lot of a population depends first and always on itself."

Have Messrs. Black, Meany, McCloy et al. in the pro-foreign aid camp read the Jeanneney report? If they haven't, they should.

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ANSWERS to History Quiz on page 2: 1. b) Chattanooga, 2. b). John Randolph, 3. a) Harding

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SPOTLIGHT ON CONGRESS

Congress should be rated not only on the amount of legislation it enacts but also on the volume of bad bills it rejects.

—Rep. HENRY C. SCHADEBERG (R.-Wis.)

Foreign Aid Drain

By REP. DON CLAUSEN (R.-Calif.)

Since 1950, the United States and its citizens have spent $27.3 billion more overseas than the United States has taken in from other countries. During fiscal 1963, our overseas payments deficit was $3 billion. During the same year, the Agency for International Development gave nearly $1 billion to foreign countries, more than 80 per cent of it to help them balance their payments deficit.

Psychological Testing

By REP. JOHN ASHBROOK (R.-Ohio)

I have spent a great amount of time in the past three years studying the so-called psychological testing in our schools. I am glad to say that many other conscientious Americans throughout the nation have also been taking a hard look at these brain-picking tests.

One of the most comprehensive and best analyses of these tests have been done by a Texas nun, Sister Mary Kateri Larkin, who points out that the Science Research Associates publication "Reading for Understanding" is written in such a way as to "belittle man's mind, attack morality, demote God and downgrade religion, education, and our government." She amply cites chapter and verse to back up these serious charges. By innuendo, these brain-picking tests induce young students to mock patriotism, parental authority, and our free enterprise system. I think Sister Mary Kateri Larkin has done an outstanding job.

Drugs to Cuba

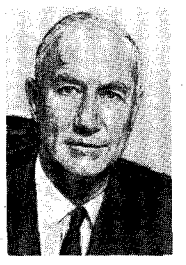
By REP. PAUL ROGERS (D.-Fla.)

As a member of the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee, I feel that the Congress is entitled to a full investigation and review of any sale of drugs to Communist Cuba. Government officials and other involved parties should be given the opportunity to clarify and assure the American people that this nation will take all steps necessary to topple Communist Cuba.

Bad Equipment

By SEN. STROM THURMOND (D.-S. C.)

There is no way to make up the breach of faith of the nation to those who sacrifice their lives because the best equipment and armaments available were withheld from them in the fight which our nation asked them to wage. If we allow Southeast Asia to fall, those who gave their lives already will have died in vain. If our forces are required to fight on with poor equipment and poorer policies that preclude victory, our military men will draw their own judgment as to the state of our national integrity and honor.



Our nation's birth resulted from the pledge of our forefathers to each other of "our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor." Americans must soon realize that the toll of U. S. policy must be measured not only in lives and fortunes, but also in loss to "our sacred honor."

Free Spender

By REP. BRUCE ALGER (R.-Tex.)

It is always easy to be a free spender if you are not spending your own money. The President is doing quite well in winning votes for his party by his generosity. The only trouble is it is not his money, it belongs to the people. He has not had to sweat to earn it, but the toilers of the nation have.

Government Dole

By REP. E. Y. BERRY (R.-S. D.)

Nothing can destroy initiative and self-reliance more quickly than a government dole. The more you do for people the less incentive there is for them to do for themselves. Poverty and indolence expand proportionally with the expansion of welfare programs. This is evidenced by the fact that last year our total welfare, including Social Security, exceeded $43 billion and there is more poverty today than there was 30 years ago when less than a quarter of that amount was being spent on welfare.

Reduced Prices

By SEN. FRANK LAUSCHE (D.-Ohio)

Because we are concerned about private employment for the unemployed, it occurs to me that one of the best methods of providing work for the unemployed would be to guarantee an expanded market in which our people would be able to buy, and in which producers throughout the world would be desirous of buying our goods because of their favorable price. With that premise, I suggest that that is no justification for members of Congress to ask for a 33 1/3-per cent pay increase, for Congress to set an example that would induce labor leaders and manufacturers to disregard the plea that has been made about fixing prices and wages at a point where the increased cost shall not be beyond the productivity of the labor placed into the goods.

Nation on The March?

By REP. BEN JENSEN (R.-Iowa)

The President recently declared in a speech in New Jersey that the Democrats have put this nation on the march. Yes, Mr. President, America is on the march all right, but in the wrong direction for the future good of our people.

Our fine American sons are marching into the jaws of death on foreign cold fronts today, away from their farms, factories, families, and friends, 11 long years after the third Democrat hot war in 45 years.

Yes, we are on the march, losing the respect of many nations on this side of the Iron Curtain, due to our vacillating foreign policy toward Cuba and elsewhere, and by interfering in other nations' business outside of this hemisphere.

Yes, we are on the march to spend and waste even more billions on the ineffective, giveaway, so-called foreign aid program than the $2,700 already spent for each average American family to pay, or for their children to pay, some day, some way, or else.

Yes, our American dollar is on the march downward in purchasing power, because of the reckless, wasteful spending route we have traveled at breakneck speed for more than three decades.

Yes, we are on the march, increasing our present federal debt of over $313 billion by an additional $20 billion at the end of fiscal year 1965, and as a comparison, may I remind you, Mr. President, that the actual estimated value of all the farms in the entire United States is only $143 billion?

Yes, Mr. President, we are on the march to bankrupt more and more private American taxpaying industries, including our meat-producing industry, because your Democrat foreign free traders finally got their way, and we are in complete dictatorial control in Congress and at your present abode at 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue.

So I ask you, Mr. President, is it any wonder that bankruptcies are up over 50 per cent over what they were in 1960, and mortgage foreclosures are

REP. BEN JENSEN (R.-Iowa)

about double what they were in 1960, since which time your party has occupied the White House and has had a large majority in Congress? . . .

Mr. President, while you must glory in your consoling claims and platitudes, I admonish you to remember that a great majority of mature Americans are deep, serious thinkers. They cannot, and will not, be marched down a blind alley, even by the President.

Hence, a multitude of awakened Americans in both parties will be found marching together, chin up, toward the bridge where only trusted Americans, henceforth, will be put on guard.

One-Man Show

By REP. MARK ANDREWS (R.-N. D.)

The situation in Viet Nam continues to become more grave. Repeated trips there by Secretary McNamara testify to the Administration's concern. It's obvious that a change in attitude is in the making. Some of us in Congress feel that this shouldn't be a one-man show with the American people bearing the brunt of the fighting for Southeast Asia. We have allies whose stake in this area is equal to ours and it could well be some of these countries whom we have trained and aided for so long would now join in the job of keeping this strategic area from falling completely to the Communists. For instance, it might well be that such forces as the Nationalist Chinese would bear a share of this burden.

Unbalanced Staffs

By REP. CATHERINE MAY (R.-Wash.)

At the present time the majority party outnumbers the minority 3 to 2 in the House of Representatives and 2 to 1 in the Senate. Yet, professional committee staff members responsible to the majority outnumber the staff responsible to the minority 8 to 1 in the House and 12 to 1 in the Senate.

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